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PORCUPINE'S
WORKS;
CONTAINING VARIOUS
WRITINGS AND SELECTIONS,
EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL PICTURE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;
OF THEIR
GOVERNMENTS, LAWS, POLITICS, AND RESOURCES;
OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEIR
PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, LEGISLATORS, MAGIS-
TRATES, AND MILITARY MEN;
AND OF THE
CUSTOMS, MANNERS, MORALS, RELIGION, VIRTUES
AND VICES
OF THE PEOPLE:

COMPRISING ALSO
A COMPLETE SERIES OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS
AND REMARKS,
FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1783,
TO THE
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

(A Volume to be added annually.)

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C O N T E N T S

OF

V O L. VI.

Selections from Porcupine's Gazette, from the Beginning of June, to the 15th of August, 1797.



SELECTIONS
FROM
PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE.

VOL. VI.

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GAZETTE SELECTIONS.

THURSDAY, 1st JUNE.

MESSRS. Otis and Gallatin.—Mr. Otis, it seems, has found out, that Mr. Gallatin has talents, if he has not “a second shirt to his back.” Perhaps Mr. Gallatin may have made the discovery which others have made, that Mr. Otis has more than a second shirt to his back, and ruffled ones too; and that he has a comfortable share of legal assurance, which sometimes passes for abilities. As the eastern delegate has had his heart softened, and has condescended to compliment Mr. Gallatin upon his speech, what a pity the Pennsylvania delegate could not for a moment forget his dignity and candour, and not only compliment Mr. Otis upon his Boston town-meeting speech, but upon his faculty of stringing words as Yankees string onions!!!

Remarks on the above.—It is not strange that the minds of a certain party should be *ruffled* by the pointed and conclusive answer of Mr. Otis, to the remarks of their leader, whatever may be the state of their shirts. If it was a compliment to *him* to say that he had made the only *American* speech that was delivered on their side; it was no great compliment

to *them*.—When occasion requires, the Yankees will show themselves as ready at stringing up insurgents as they are at stringing onions.

French Impudence and Irish Ignorance exemplified.—The following letter was received by the printers on Saturday, and they have the strongest reason to suppose, that it gave rise to the report that Captain Garriſcan had ſent his inſtructions to this city.

TRANSLATION.

CITIZENS JAMES CAREY and JOHN MARKLAND,
No. 83, North Second Street.

*On board the French Brig Le Pandour, at Sea,
3d Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.*

CITIZENS,

By your paper of the 13th May (No. 82), I have ſeen with the greateſt ſurpriſe, the falſe reports of Captain Swain, of the ſchooner Expedition. I will retort the whole, in aſſuring you that the Engliſh have not only not taken the leaſt fortification in the iſland of Porto Rico, but they have not even tried the effects of the Spaniſh cannon on that iſland, the Governor whereof is a brave ſoldier.

I have likewiſe ſeen in ſeveral newspapers from New-York, libels of the printers of that city againſt the French privateers. If any of them have committed any reproachable acts, pleaſe to aſſure the citizens of the United States, that *the generality of the privateers take a pleaſure in, and make it their ſacred duty, to exerciſe* in the execution of the orders which they have from Government, *that humanity and generoſity* which is inſeparable from *French republicans*. Compare, for an inſtant, the conduct of the Engliſh with ours, and you will be eaſily convinced of the difference which is between the two. It is to be hoped,

hoped, that the wisdom and prudence of your representatives, together with the justice and equity of the French Government, will draw closer the knot which tied us ; and that nothing hereafter may be able to disunite us. This is the wish of my heart.

[O'Carey's Daily Advertiser.]

S. J. Cabell's Letter presented by a Grand Jury.—At the Court of the United States for the middle circuit, in the district of Virginia, at the capital, in the city of Richmond, on Monday the 22d day of May, 1797 ;

Present—James Iredel, Esq. one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Cyrus Griffin, Esq. of the district of Virginia :

A number of gentlemen were sworn as the grand inquest for the body of the district, who having received their charge, retired from the bar, and returned with the following presentment.

We of the grand jury of the United States for the district of Virginia, present as a real evil, the *circular letters of several members of the late Congress*, and particularly letters with the signature of Samuel J. Cabell, endeavouring, at a time of real public danger, to disseminate unfounded calumnies against the happy government of the United States, and thereby *to separate the people therefrom, and to increase, or produce, a foreign influence ruinous to the peace, happiness, and independence of the United States.*

JOHN BLAIR, Foreman.

(A copy.)

Teste,

WM. MARSHALL, Clerk.

And yet Messrs. Giles and Nicholas vow and protest, that there is no such thing as a French faction ! These gentlemen come from Virginia, but it seems they have never heard any thing of the matter.

FRIDAY, 2^d JUNE.

The Jeffersoniad.—At a time when it is so necessary for the safety and independence of the United States, that the French Government should be taught that all the branches of our Government are in union, and that the people are resolved to support their Government; we find, on the contrary, intriguing characters, hostile to our liberties, resorting to every expedient to keep alive the hopes and expectations of the French tyrants. The efforts of some of the minority in the House of Representatives of Congress, cannot fail to stimulate the Directory to prosecute the plan of subjugation and plunder.

Barras (in his insolent, bombastic speech to the meek and suppliant Munroe, who truly represented, not the good people of America, but a set of debased and crouching satellites) says, that “France will not degrade herself to calculate the consequences of the condescension of the American Government to the suggestions of its ancient tyrants.”—On this text the official Redacteur, by order of the Directory, in a paragraph written no doubt by De la Croix, says, France will never forget that, in spite of the most wicked insinuations, there passed, only by a majority of two votes, that fatal treaty which has put the Americans under the guardianship of the English.” Attempts are now making by French partisans, to persuade France that there is only a majority of two votes against a proposition which has for its avowed objects the meanest acquiescence in the unprovoked outrages of haughty France, and a humble tender of advantages to which she can have no just pretensions, until she has offered an apology for her insults and compensation for her piracies.

If France can be thus persuaded that there is within a few votes of a majority of the representatives
of

of the people devoted to her interests, with the Vice-president at their head, can it be any longer doubted, that she will persist in attempting the subversion of our constitution, and the destruction of our liberties?

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Virginia to his Friend in this City.—"The present appears to me to be a crisis in the fortunes of the human race. France evidently seeks to govern the world, by placing power in the hands of men who will be subservient to her for the preservation of that power. Thus Holland in the form of a republic is, and must be, as obedient to France as a French province. That Government can only be preserved by the protection of France, and those who govern can only keep their places by the same protection. So in Italy you perceive a republic or two is now forming. It is by no means impossible, that the Austrian dominions in Italy may be lost during the present war, and converted into one or more republics. If the pecuniary aid of Britain is withdrawn, they must be lost. These republics can only preserve their existence by the aid of France, and they will, consequently, be entirely under her control. Should his dominions in Italy even be restored to the Emperor, a French party will be found there, which will not easily be extirpated, and which will be ready in another war to take up arms for France. It appears to me, that an effort is making to govern the whole world, either by conquest, or by placing power in the hands of men who will use it so as to promote the views of France. The only effort which has ever been made in this country by a foreign nation, to influence our elections, and to place power in the hands of the partisans of such foreign nations, has been made by France, and she has made it secretly, and openly. She has made it by the immediate instrumentality of her public agents,

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and

and by that of American citizens devoted to her. The same plan which is incessantly pursued in Europe, is pursued in America also. It is to place power in the hands of those who are indebted to France for it, or who will use it for her aggrandizement. In Europe, it is enough to establish a republican form of government; in America, it is necessary to do more. Possessing, already, a government purely republican, it is necessary to calumniate it, to excite jealousies of the republican dispositions of those who conduct it, and thereby to bring them into disrepute with the people, and, by doing so, to fill all our departments with men who, being elected by a passion for France, must keep up that passion to keep their places. The effort to universal dominion is plain, and its progress is rapid. It seems to be impossible that the French party in our country can be blind to this danger. They must see it, yet they court it. They keep the people blind, by talking of a British influence, which they know does not and cannot exist. Of this, the letter ascribed to Mr. Jefferson, if really written by him, is a strong instance. I hope and have heretofore believed, that he did not write it. I wait with eagerness for his denial of it. If it shall not be denied, I own that my opinion of the moral character of that gentleman, as well as of his politics, will be much diminished."

To Thomas Jefferson, Esq.—It is now no longer a doubt that you are the author of the abominable letter to Mazzei, which has made so much noise, and excited so much indignation, throughout the United States.

Your silence, after being publicly, and repeatedly, called on by numbers of your fellow-citizens to disavow it, is complete evidence of your guilt. Had you been innocent of the charge, all who know your keen sensibility at every thing which appears in print, to implicate your conduct, and who have heard your professions

professions of respect for public opinion, are satisfied that you are silent, because you dare not contradict it: considering you, then, as the avowed author of that indecent libel against the government and character of your country, I shall animadvert on it with that freedom which the magnitude of the subject requires.

The effects intended to be produced by you in Europe are apparent, from the writings of a French journalist.

The following comments are made on your precious letter in the *Paris Moniteur*:—"The interesting letter from one of the most virtuous and enlightened citizens of the United States, *explains the conduct of Americans in regard to France*. It is certain, that, of all the neutral and friendly powers, there is none from which France had a right to expect more interest and succours, than from the United States. She is their true mother-country, since she has assured to them their liberty and independence. Ungrateful children! instead of abandoning her, they ought to have armed in her defence. But if imperious circumstances had prevented them from openly declaring for the Republic of France, they ought, at least, to have made demonstrations, and excited apprehensions in England, that at some moment or other they would declare themselves. This fear alone would have been sufficient to force the cabinet of London to make peace. It is clear, that a war with the United States would strike a terrible blow at the commerce of the English, would give them uneasiness for the preservation of their possessions on the American continent, and deprive them of the means of conquering the French and Dutch colonies.

"Equally ungrateful and impolitic, the Congress hastens to encourage the English, that they might pursue, in tranquillity, their war of extermination
against

against France, and to invade the colonies and commerce of France. They sent to London a Minister, Mr. Jay, known by his attachment to England, and his personal relations to Lord Grenville, and he concluded, suddenly, a treaty of commerce which united them with Great Britain more than a treaty of alliance.

“ Such a treaty, under all the peculiar circumstances, and by the consequences it must produce, is an act of hostility against France. The French Government, in short, has testified the resentment of the French nation, by breaking off communication with an ungrateful and faithless ally, until she will return to a more just and benevolent conduct. Justice and sound policy equally approve this measure of the French Government. There is no doubt it will give rise, in the United States, to discussions which may afford a triumph to the party of good republicans, the friends of France.

“ Some writers, in disapprobation of this wise and necessary measure of the Directory, maintain, that in the United States the French have for partisans only certain demagogues, who aim to overthrow the existing government. But their impudent falsehoods convince no one, and prove only what is too evident, that they use the liberty of the press to serve the enemies of France.”

The effects intended to be produced by your letter in the United States, and the effects which it must inevitably produce, will be hereafter examined.

A FELLOW-CITIZEN.

There being some talk of inaccuracy in the translation which has appeared in the papers, of the following letter, we lay it before our readers in the French.

From the “ Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel,” Paris, Sixtidi, 6 Pluviose (January 25).

Florence, le 1^{er} Janvier.—Lettre de M. Jefferson, ci-devant

ci-devant Ministre des Etats Unis en France, et Secrétaire au département des affaires étrangères, à un citoyen de Virginie.

Cette lettre (littéralement traduite) est adressée à M. Mazzei, auteur des “ Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats Unis d’Amérique,” demeurant en Toscane.

“ Notre état politique a prodigieusement changé depuis que vous nous avez quitté. Au lieu de ce noble amour de la liberté et de ce gouvernement républicain, qui nous ont fait passer triomphans à travers les dangers de la guerre, un parti Anglican-monarchico-aristocratique s’est élevé. Son objet avoué est de nous imposer la substance, comme il nous a déjà donné les formes du gouvernement Britannique ; cependant le corps principal de nos citoyens reste fidèle aux principes républicains. Tous les propriétaires fonciers sont pour ces principes, ainsi qu’une grande masse d’hommes à talens. Nous avons contre nous (républicains) le pouvoir exécutif, le pouvoir judiciaire (deux des trois branches de la législature), tous les officiers du gouvernement, tous ceux qui aspirent à l’être, tous les hommes timides qui préfèrent le calme du Despotisme à la mer orageuse de la Liberté, les marchands Bretons, et les Américains qui trafiquent avec des capitaux Bretons, les speculateurs, les gens intéressés dans la banque et dans les fonds publics (établissmens inventés dans des vues de corruption, et pour nous assimiler au modèle Britannique dans ses parties pourries).

“ Je vous *donnerois la fièvre* si je vous nommais les apostats qui ont embrassé ces hérésies ; des hommes qui étaient des Solomons dans le conseil, et des Samsons dans les combats, mais dont la chevelure a été coupée par la catin Angleterre.

“ On voudrait nous ravir cette liberté que nous avons gagnée par tant de travaux et de dangers : Mais nous la conserverons ; notre masse de poids et de

de richesse est trop grande pour que nous ayons à craindre qu'on tente d'employer la force contre nous. Il suffit que nous nous reveillons, et que nous rompons les liens liliputiens dont il nous ont garrotés pendant le premier sommeil qui a succédé à nos travaux. Il suffit que nous arrêtons les progrès de ce système d'ingratitude et d'injustice envers la France, de qui on voudrait nous aliéner pour nous rendre à l'influence Britannique," etc.

Munroe.—"We are at length acquainted with all the circumstances relative to the infamous treatment this country, through their Minister, has met with from the French. Surely there never was a more impudent pretence for quarrelling with us. Munroe intends, it is said, landing in New-Hampshire, and travelling home through the eastern States, because he has never seen that part of America.

"Does he suppose there is a man, not reduced to a state of idiotism, who can be imposed on by such a pretence? Cabal and faction are in his heart; he has been impregnated by Barras and De la Croix; the foetus is completely formed, and the parturition will be promoted by the obstetric hands of Goody Langdon and Goody Jervis, assisted by that old gentlewoman lately retired from the chief magistracy of Massachusetts. The returning good sense, which is showing itself in all parts, will, I hope, take the proper steps to produce an abortion. Munroe is precisely following Genet's manoeuvre; that impudent Frenchman exhibited himself from the south upwards; Munroe will make his experiments from the north downwards; Fauchet and Adet have, by their emissaries, been making their experiments to the westward. America is thus to be stroked backwards and forwards, and crossways, by those impertinent quacks, in imitation of Dr. Perkins, with his *metallic tractors*. As to France, every exertion should

should be made to avoid a rupture, consistent with the duty we owe ourselves. She is undoubtedly endeavouring to destroy our independence, and requires us to fall prostrate before her: that I would not do, but I would open an avenue for her to retreat if she should be so inclined. If I thought an *envoy extraordinary* would be more acceptable to the Directory than a *minister plenipotentiary*, I should have no objection to gratify them. I believe, however, they are not playing so childish a game; they are aiming at *essentials*, and it is our duty to let them know, that, although we have borne a great deal, yet there is a point beyond which we are determined not to go. If France is determined to quarrel with us, she will do it whether we send an envoy extraordinary or a minister plenipotentiary. It is indispensably necessary therefore to make vigorous preparations *for defence* *."

American Anecdote.—A Frenchman being lately in company with an American, the conversation turned on the difference between their countries. The Frenchman was a little on the high strain of enthusiasm, and said his country would make the Americans do as they wish, as they did the Italians in Italy. The American very promptly replied, that the Americans were men and were warriors, and the Italians only songsters; that they had never been *cut out for wielding the sword to defend their rights*.

[If this man had consulted certain members in Congress, they would have told him he should not make use of such irritating language.]

* Why not say *for war*? What sort of a nation is that which does nothing but *defend* itself? Such a nation must ever be like a town besieged, and nine times out of ten it will capitulate or be taken.

SATURDAY, 3^d JUNE.

Modes of Corruption.—A correspondent suggests that there are various modes of obtaining *influence* by *corruption*; one may be, giving a large sum to a *lawyer* as standing counsel for the French Republic; another may be to release the captured vessels of a friendly *merchant*; another to withhold payment for a large supply of *leather*, or other articles, furnished the Republic by *contract*, until the contractor gives the proper evidence of *civism* by justifications, apologies, concessions, and abuse of Great Britain*.

Jefferson.—A curious contrast might be displayed, by exhibiting the letter of *Citizen Jefferson* to *Citizen Mazzei* in one column, and by its side the speech of the Vice-president of the United States to the Senate, on taking the oath to support the constitution, a constitution *in form* like the British constitution. It is said that an ingenious work of this kind is now preparing. The work would be more complete if the author would subjoin, in a third column, *Citizen Jefferson's* letter to *Citizen Benjamin Bannecker*, the black man.

In the course of the present and preceding year, the merchants of the United States of America are supposed, on a moderate calculation, to have lost by the unjust captures of the French nation on the high seas 13,000,000 dollars. During the present session of Congress, one of the members, a country gentleman, noways concerned in trade, brought forward a resolution to call on the French nation to pay our merchants for the cargoes which had been taken from them; and, extraordinary to tell,

* Proofs of instances of all these modes of corruption could have been produced very easily.

Mr. Livingston, the representative of the city of New-York ; Mr. Swanwick, ditto, Philadelphia ; and Mr. S. Smith, ditto, Baltimore ; opposed the motion, and declared the French ought not to be asked such *an unreasonable thing*.

MONDAY, 5th JUNE.

Remarks on Congress.—After spending forty thousand dollars of the public money, in a consultation of two weeks on a piece of business which a jury of twelve well-informed honest men would settle in two days, and treading over the same ground twenty times, in order to confuse a subject which is one of the plainest that ever came before a legislative body, the French partisans in a great assembly are at length driven to declare themselves. The result of their tedious deliberations is this ; they are willing, *citizens*, to submit all your complaints against France, of intrigues, insults, and spoliations of property to the amount of twelve million of dollars, to the justice and honour of the French Government ; they are so very polite as not even to mention these injuries in their communication to the President, although *that* was the very business for which they were called together ; some of them, indeed, seem so terrified, or something worse, that they declare it is much better to lose all the money, than to risk the displeasure of the *terrible Republic*, by talking about our losses, even among ourselves, for fear her agents should overhear us. But when they speak of French merits and the causes of French complaints (which God knows are both non-entities), every man talks like a *Cicero* or a *Fisher Ames*. The French, they say, are the saviours and guardian angels of this country. Our treaty with them, and all the other treaties we ever made with any nation
on

on earth, shall be laid at their feet, that they may pick and choose out of them. This, citizens, is the manner in which these dastards, if they do not deserve a worse name, have debased themselves; and may the curse of cowards light upon them, as surely as they are endeavouring to debase us all. These servants of ours are willing not only to part with our money, but they are ready also to throw our honour into the bargain.

TUESDAY, 6th JUNE.

The Lyon of Vermont.—To-morrow morning at eleven o'clock will be exposed to public view the *Lyon of Vermont*. This singular animal is said to have been caught on the bog of Hibernia, and, when a whelp, transported to America; curiosity induced a New-Yorker to buy him, and moving into the country, afterwards exchanged him for a yoke of young bulls with a Vermontese. He was petted in the neighbourhood of Governor Chittenden, and soon became so domesticated, that a daughter of his Excellency would stroke him and play with him as a monkey. He differs considerably from the African lion, is much more clamorous and less magnanimous. His pelt resembles more the wolf or the tiger, and his gestures bear a remarkable affinity to the bear: this, however, may be ascribed to his having been in the habit of associating with that species of wild beast on the mountain: he is carnivorous, but not very ferocious—has never been detected in having attacked a *man*, but report says he will *beat women*.

He was brought to this city in a waggon, and has several days *exposed* himself to the public. It has been motioned to cage him—as he has discovered much
 unca-

uneasiness at *going with the crowd* *. Many gentlemen, who have seen him, do not hesitate to declare, they think him a most extraordinary beast.

WEDNESDAY, 7th JUNE.

Debt of Gratitude to France.—Clearly as it appears to every candid mind, that we neither do, nor ever did, owe any thing to the present rulers of France, the falsehood is still repeated, not only in all the democratic circles, but by some members of a great and very respectable assembly. If any thing can equal the stupidity of this conduct, it is the obstinacy with which some men persist in it. Suppose, for a moment, there was a debt of gratitude due to Louis XVI. and his Court, there can be no justice whatever in transferring this obligation to his murderers ; to men, who at that period had no more concern in the act of assisting America, than the slaves of Algiers.

These usurpers (for such they are in the worst and fullest sense of the term) were, at that period, most of them too young, and all of them too poor and insignificant, to have any thing to do in the business. Country lawyers, infidel philosophers, stage-players, mendicant abbés, and others equally despicable, who acquired power in the revolution by intrigue and violence, can never be the legitimate heirs of the Bourbon family, or the true representatives of the landed and monied interest of France. No ; the revolution has been complete, in a physical as well as a moral view ; not only the government, but the palaces, the warehouses, the fields, and the treasures, have all shifted hands. The rightful owners

* It will be seen in the proceedings of Congress, that this beast asked leave to be excused from going with the rest of the Members to wait on the President.

have been violently dispossessed ; some of them are murdered, and others are now wandering in exile ; and the property as well as the power of that devoted country have been seized, as a prey, by a band of daring conspirators ; by men, as unused to property as they were to power, and who, to retain both, oppress their brutified countrymen, and spread confusion, rapine, and carnage, as far as they can carry their arms or intrigues.

Whatever submission, therefore, cowards may think is due to this *terrible Republic*, we are surely under no *obligation* to her, either moral or political, for the benefits we received from her murdered sovereign. On the contrary, as soon as she seized the government, she displayed a policy inimical to the United States, and still perseveres in it ; she has sown discord among our citizens, plundered our commerce, broke the faith of a treaty she claimed, and insulted our just and peaceable government in the most offensive manner ; and these things have not been transacted in a corner, but having passed on an open theatre, are notorious to all Europe.

How much then must the glory of the United States be obscured in the eyes of virtuous and intelligent foreigners, when they see men, of some rank and respectability in the commonwealth, join a few mercenary gazetteers, in offering incense to this *common enemy* ! Will it not be just to presage our approaching dissolution, when twenty years only have produced so great a declension in private and public virtue, and the sacred principles of truth and justice ?

Let us bring the business home, and endeavour to illustrate it by supposing a case, which is much less improbable than many others that have happened in our memory. If an army of French revolutionists should land on or near our country, and, by opening the prison-doors, proclaiming liberty to the
flaves,

slaves, and holding out the temptation of *equality* (or plunder, which is synonymous) to the worthless and profligate, they should organize a holy insurrection in the southern States; suppose, again, they should be so fortunate (which God forbid!) as to reduce two or three of those States; and, to fortify their conquest, they should transfer the property from the present proprietors to their slaves, and to others, the vile instruments of the revolution; would the middle and northern States still acknowledge them as a part of the American confederation? would they listen to these intruders with any patience, if they claimed a right in the Union of 1776, or pretended to any share in the honour of establishing the American independence in its rights or franchises? Would they not rather consider them as a common enemy, and arm with zeal to expel or crush them, as soon as possible?

I have adduced this supposition, because it is not an improbable one, and to ask our southern orators, the principal advocates of the French interest, how they would relish such an event. They cannot be weak enough to imagine, because they had figured on the floor of Congress, or elsewhere, as the partisans of France, that their property, or the property of their friends, would be the more secure. These new lords of the soil would not inquire, whether a man was a democrat or an aristocrat in politics, whether he was a federalist or anti-federalist, devoted to England or to France, but what wealth he had; and whether he would carry a musket to subjugate the other States.

If this case has any analogy with our relation to France, and I sincerely think it has, what shall we say to those orators in Congress, who labour so zealously in recommending the rebel government of that country to the friendship and gratitude of their fellow-citizens; and this at a time when her armies

are desolating Europe from motives of ambition ; her agents and ministers are insulting our own Government ; and her pirates are plundering our vessels in every part of the ocean ? I am really ashamed that so degenerate a spirit should appear any where in the United States, and much more when it appears in her public councils. If, like the uninformed Indians, we are really awed by the devil, in the name of all that is christian and manly, I hope we shall not copy them so closely, as to fall down likewise and worship his image.

THURSDAY, 8th JUNE.

O'Careys and the Learned Pig.—Advertisement.—The docility, tractability, and sagacity of many animals, such as the *dog*, *horse*, and *elephant*, have been as much the theme of conversation as the stupidity and stubbornness of the *pig* has been proverbial.

This little animal forms an exception to the general rule ; for he not only equals any, but exceeds all the above in their most eminent qualities.

He will *read* right, *spell*, *tell* the *hour* of the day, distinguish colours, the number of persons present, &c. &c. And what is more astonishing, any *lady* or *gentleman* may draw a card and keep it concealed, and the *pig*, without any hesitation, will discover the card drawn from another pack.

To be seen by any number of persons, at Mr. Cook's house, corner of Market and Third Street, from ten in the morning till one, and from two till seven in the evening. Admittance one quarter of a dollar.

It may not be amiss to inform those who have a desire to see the performance of this sapient animal, that they will do well to lose no time in gratifying their curiosity, as it is confidently reported, that the O'CAREYS are about to engage him as editor to their Gazette.

FRIDAY,

FRIDAY, 9th JUNE.

John B—ll, Esq. Grog-man and Bankrupt.—To the inhabitants of the counties of Philadelphia and Delaware, and the public in general. On Friday, June 2d, broke into the southern apartment of that magnificent fabric at the corner of Walnut and Sixth Streets, a Mr. John B—ll, taylor, debauchee, grog-drinker, and squire. This wonderful animal was bred in the village of Darby, in the county of Delaware. At the age of eighteen he received the honourable title of grog-drinker, at twenty he obtained the name of debauchee, for which he was cast out of the tabernacle of the holy lambs. He sought safety by flight, and arrived safe at Salem, New-Jersey. Here he exhibited a specimen of his abilities with the insipid fair, and the grog-men, but was soon obliged to move his quarters; he next pitched his tent in Baltimore, and from thence to Virginia. From Virginia the grog-man returned to his native village of Darby, after an absence of seven years, more or less. The exploits of the squire being very notorious, it would therefore be superfluous and indelicate to repeat them, as the chief of them overstep the modesty of nature. Shortly after his arrival in the village of his nativity, he set up grog-drinking, cock-fighting, and horse-racing, which he persevered in for the space of three years, when, some how or other, his neck slipped into the noose of matrimony. He then moved to Philadelphia, rented a house in Strawberry Alley, and commenced grog-drinking on a very extensive plan. He has sometimes been seen at noon-day crawling into his door on as many legs as a snapturtle generally uses; and it would have taken a very skilful physiognomist to have distinguished him from that animal. Having drank grog and eaten oysters for nine months, he bequeathed his landlord

a three-legged stool, a few needles without eyes, and the cleansing of hell *, in place of his rent.

This same squire grog-man having a little low cunning, with which he took in his brother flats, got credit of them to the amount of several hundreds, and is now paying them off with a sponge.

The said squire grog-drinker is to remove his quarters on the twenty-sixth of this month; therefore every honest, dishonest, superficial, or judicious landlord, inn-keeper, store-keeper, &c. &c. are hereby cautioned to have no contractions with him the said squire, for, instead of the ready rhino, they will receive the sponge.

June 21, 1797.

A BILKED CREDITOR.

SATURDAY, 10th JUNE.

French and Spanish Cruelty towards American Sailors.—Captain Merrihew, of the ship Mount Vernon, gives the following account of the different spoliations committed on the trade of the United States by French privateers, which came immediately within his own knowledge during his stay at the port of St. John's, Porto Rico, and which can be attested also by a number of other citizens of America, who had the misfortune to be carried in there.

Captured by the privateer Vengeance, the schooner ———, Loring Taber master, belonging to Boston, bound to Jamaica, and sent to St. Domingo. The mate and several of the crew of said schooner were put on shore at St. John's, destitute of every necessary, being plundered even of their wearing apparel: *the mate took sick in a few days after, and died*; the expenses of his interment, &c. were defrayed by the different American captains.

* Hell is under a taylor's shop-board.

The ship Hope, of Boston, John Seward master, was captured by the pilot-boat Democrat, in a few hours after leaving the island of St. Thomas. This vessel was loaded with coffee and cotton at Surinam, and bound to Boston, since condemned.—Captain Seward was kept a prisoner on board the privateer Democrat, for six days after her arrival; and had it not been for the very spirited exertions used by some American captains and others, he would not even then have obtained his liberty.

Captured and brought into port, and since condemned, the schooner Delight, of Penobscot, Mark Hatch master, bound from Barbadoes to some port in the United States; the captain and crew turned on shore at St. John's, *destitute of both money and clothes, being pillaged.*

Captured and brought into port, and condemned, by the privateer Vengeance, the brig Two Sisters, of Baltimore, Captain Hubbard, bound from Montserrat to the island of St. Thomas; the captain plundered of his wearing apparel, and every other necessary belonging to himself and crew.

Captured and brought into port, the bark Susan, of Biddeford, ——— Smith master, bound from St. Vincent's to North Carolina. Captain Smith and his crew turned on shore (though they solicited much without effect to be left in the bark), where they remained at the town of St. John's, at a very heavy expense, to wait the issue of the bark's trial at Guadaloupe, which finally arrived about the middle of May. Verdict of the French tribunal, cargo condemned, the vessel cleared, but the bark's register, sea-letter, and all her other papers destroyed or made away with by the captors, and the vessel so much pillaged by them as not to be in a state to return to the continent.

Captain Smith applied to Mr. Paris, the French marine agent at Porto Rico, to assist him to put the

barque in such a condition as would enable him to return in her to Biddeford, without any redress or effect. Captain Smith was therefore necessitated to purchase the American schooner *Delight*, which was condemned; in the purchase of which he was joined by Captain Strong, and five or six different captured American masters and mates; being the only alternative they had left to return to America.

Brought into the port of St. John's by a French privateer, the mate and crew of a schooner belonging to Boston, whom they turned on shore without a second shirt or jacket, or a single dollar in their pockets. This schooner, name forgotten, was owned at Boston, and commanded by Captain Dunkendorff, loaded at Tobago, and bound to Boston. Cleared.

Brought into port by the privateer *Triumph*, the brig —, John Fry master, bound from Baltimore to St. Bartholomew's. After several days detention, and loaded with innumerable expenses, he was with difficulty cleared, but on a stipulated condition of entering into a written obligation to acquit the owner and captain of the privateer from all cost and damages.

Captain Williams, of Baltimore, of the schooner —, belonging to Norfolk, and his people, were brought to St. John's by the privateer *Vengeance*, and turned on shore without a dollar in their pockets. They sent the schooner for trial to St. Domingo, where she was soon condemned, under pretext of not having either register or sea-letter, which the captain of the privateer was base enough to destroy or conceal.

Taken by the privateer brig *Vengeance*, and since condemned, the ship *William*, of Portland, Robert Strong master; bound from St. Kitt's to Portland. In a few nights after the capture of said ship, the mate of her, and one sailor and the cabin-boy, whom the privateer permitted to remain on board, took an opportunity,

opportunity, while the French prize-master and eight Frenchmen were napping or off their guard, to rise on them and retake the ship. In the conflict, which lasted a considerable time, the French prize-master and two of the Frenchmen were killed, and three others badly wounded; but, unfortunately, the next day the ship William was met near Porto Rico and retaken by the French privateer Eagle. Both from the crew and owners of the privateers the brave and intrepid American mate and mariner experienced every degree of cruel, unmanly, and savage usage, disgraceful to be related. These two bold and brave fellows were sent in a few days after, to stand their trial before a French tribunal, to St. Domingo, in an open boat, *double ironed on both legs and hands*; and, if report said or spoke truth, with orders *to throw them both overboard if the boat was chased by an English cruiser*. The American captains, and others, presented a spirited and humane memorial to the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, Don Raymondo de Castro, representing those men as American subjects, and praying that they might be tried by the Spanish laws; but to which *he never deigned to return an answer*.

Brought in by the privateer Vengeance, the schooner —, Captain Jones, of Boston, who sold his cargo at Guadaloupe, and purchased a return cargo there, bound for Boston. Captain Jones was met by an English cruiser, and carried into St. Kitt's; where, after trial, he was acquitted, and permitted to proceed on his voyage to Boston, but was met in a few days after by the above privateer Vengeance; and, merely under the pretext of Captain Jones being at a British island, he was again captured, from whose clutches he was glad to get clear, after several days detention, paying heavy port charges and other expenses, and being plundered of all his stock and small stores.

Brought in by L'Espegle privateer, and since condemned, the brig Nabby of Hartford, bound from
Antigua

Antigua to New-York, loaded with rum, sugar, and coffee.

Also the sloop Hannah, of Milford, since condemned, bound to New-York, loaded with sugar and molasses, from Martinico.

Brought in by the privateer Triumphant, the brig Ceres, of Newbern, James Moor master, loaded with lumber for Trinidad. So little regard had the owner or captain of this privateer to laws, custom, or usage, that they stripped the brig Ceres entirely of her shrouds, and part of her running rigging and spars, with which they again fitted out the privateer, though the brig Ceres' condemnation had not arrived when the ship Mount Vernon left Porto Rico.

Brought in by a row-boat and eight men, and one swivel gun, the snow Harmony of Kennebunk, Burnham master; bound from Barbadoes home with rum. The owner of this privateer, Mons. M. Mallet, sold the cargo in a few days after, and the vessel in about four weeks after her arrival, though no condemnation for her had yet come to hand.

Captured and brought in by L'Espiegle privateer, the ship Kitty, belonging to Mr. Coppinger of Philadelphia; bound from the Isle of France to said port, loaded with coffee, sugar, cotton, indigo, and bale-goods.

Captain M'Pherfon, and Mr. Cox the supercargo of the above ship, were confined on board without even having permission to converse, or see a single individual, directly or indirectly, or to correspond with the shore by letter. They at length found means, by the aid of Mr. Bayly, an interpreter, to have a strong and urgent remonstrance, stating their grievances, drawn up and presented to the Governor Don Raymondo de Castro, but to which his Excellency never returned an answer; and, finally, when the island was besieged by the British, they were taken from

from on board the ship with the crew, and closely confined in prison, where they yet languish without any prospect of being liberated, unless by the interference of the Executive of their country. Five seamen of the above ship Kitty, all citizens of America, and with protections in their pockets, were put on board the Spanish frigate Juno to be sent to the Havannah and treated as English prisoners of war. This extraordinary circumstance happened on the morning of the day on which the ship Mount Vernon was to sail; therefore there was no time to be lost to rescue those poor fellows from such a dreadful situation. A strong and urgent representation was made in their favour by some American captains and others, that they might be put on board the ship Mount Vernon, which was at length granted; but not until the very instant that the ship Mount Vernon was weighing anchor, when the poor fellows arrived from on board a guard-boat from the Spanish frigate Juno.

Some days previous to the ship Mount Vernon leaving Porto Rico, there were thirteen American sailors brought to the town of St. John's under a guard of soldiers from the west end of the island, and put into close prison, where there were no less than fifty negroes confined. These men were all American citizens, and had each of them a protection; being part of the crews belonging to the brig Industry of Boston, Joseph Ryder master, bound from Demarara to Boston; and of the schooner Betsey, W. Sturges, from Trinidad; and the ship Industry, Robert Oram master, of Portsmouth (New-Hampshire), all taken by a privateer and carried into Cape Rooke.

Five American captains being made acquainted with the dreadful situation that these poor fellows were in, closely confined in a small cell, and the weather then extremely sultry, presented a remonstrance to the Governor for their liberation, which

was

was granted, after their being confined in a loathsome prison nine days ; but on condition that they would pay the gaol fees, and that they should take them on board their different vessels off the island.

Those thirteen mariners agree in their several accounts of what Captain Merrihew heard reported before, at the town of St. John's ; that the French privateers had taken within a short time several other American vessels, and brought them into the different ports of the south and west part of the island of Porto Rico. Some of the captains, to the number of five or six, as well as the crews of those vessels, took their passage in a Danish bark bound to St. Croix from Cape Rooke ; it being the best opportunity that was presented to them to return home, after losing their vessels.

Captain Merrihew cannot conclude his recital without mentioning a matter that happened to him and the other American vessels at the port of St. John's, during the early part of the siege of that town by the British ; on which he would not presume to comment, but leave it to an impartial public to draw what inference they think proper from so extraordinary a circumstance.

On the fourth or fifth day of the siege the British brought several mortars to bear on the town, and on the shipping in the harbour ; which, of consequence, induced the shipping for their preservation to remove to a greater distance round a point of land ; in performing which, as is always customary, five or six American vessels then in port hoisted their colours, to prevent the British firing or annoying them while they were thus anxiously employed in removing their vessels to a place of safety. The necessity of hoisting their American colours was evident, as the French prize-master of the American ship Kitty of Philadelphia, in omitting to use this precaution, was nearly instrumental in the loss of the ship ; she being
fired

fired at, and struck by a shell, which went through her quarter-deck, but fortunately happened to lodge in a barrel of rice, which choked the fusee for the moment, until the people extinguished it without doing further damage to the ship. But in about an hour after, the Captain of the port, Don Hurtado, came on board the Mount Vernon, and every other American vessel, and demanded, in the most haughty tone of language, their vessels' colours, which were not returned them until after the British abandoned the siege*.

MONDAY, 12th JUNE.

Peace with the Emperor.—Boston, June 8.—Yesterday afternoon arrived here the ship Telemachus, Captain Prentiss, in thirty days from Liverpool; by whom we have received London papers to May 4, which contain Paris news to April 28th, much later than before received. These papers abound with events of the greatest magnitude.

The article most interesting to Americans, contains well-corroborated accounts that preliminaries of peace had been signed between the Emperor and the French Republic, having been concluded by the Archduke Charles and General Buonaparte. The events which led to this measure were an un-

* Will any one tell me then, that *independence* is so very great a blessing as it has been held to be? Can this *word*, this mere *name*, make up for the losses, the innumerable insults, the inconceivable mortification that the people of these "*independent*" States are compelled to bear? I enter not into the subject of dispute between Great Britain and her American Colonies, which led to their independence; nor do I know that, the quarrel once begun, independence was not unavoidable; but I assert that, abstractedly considered, this independence was a great evil to America; and I greatly fear that, instead of profit and honour, it will finally prove a source of misery and disgrace.

examplified series of victories by the French army in Italy over the Austrians, in which the latter lost between fifteen and twenty thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; great quantities of ammunition, military stores, provisions, &c. and two millions worth of quicksilver from the mines of Idria. Our corroborations of this intelligence are, first, Mr. Fox in the British House of Commons, the 3d of May, announced the event, and Mr. Pitt did not contradict it. Second, the French Executive Directory, on the 26th of April, in a message to the Council of Five Hundred, say, a dispatch from General Moreau is terminated by the following postscript: "A courier which I received this moment from General Buonaparte, announces me the signing of the preliminaries of peace with the Emperor." This message created the liveliest emotions of joy, as the harbinger of a speedy peace. Third, the Directory, in another message on the same day to the Council of Five Hundred respecting the French Colonies, say, "The Constitution ought not to be put in activity until after the peace; but every thing announces that this peace will be concluded in less than a month." It may be necessary here to state, that the reason why the Directory did not receive a courier from Buonaparte announcing the above event as early as General Moreau, was, that General Buonaparte, in order to stop the useless effusion of blood, directed the courier he sent with the intelligence to proceed to Moreau's and Hoche's army on the Rhine before he went to Paris. Fourth, General Vernier, Governor of Strasburg (on the Rhine), announced by the sound of trumpet on the 24th of April, a letter from General Regnier to General Vandamme, as follows: "I have the pleasure to inform you, General, that the preliminaries of a peace have just been signed by the army of Italy; and an armistice has just been proclaimed between

the Austrian army and that of the Rhine and Moselle; and, in consequence, you will cease all hostilities, and the advanced posts will remain in the same position." This event caused unusual demonstrations of joy at Strasburg, which was brilliantly illuminated. At Paris numerous discharges of artillery announced the peace; business was suspended, and the streets and gardens resounded with the shouts of *Vive la Paix! Vive la Republique!* Fifth; General Leclerc arrived at Paris from the army; left the two Generals settling the preliminaries of peace. General Buonaparte required, that the formal acknowledgment of the French Republic by the Emperor should be expunged from the treaty, as the Republic stood not in need of it for its existence. A number of less prominent occurrences convince us that peace now exists between the French Republic and the Emperor of Germany.

It will be asked, Does the peace include Great Britain? We can give no decisive answer on this head. A Paris paper of the 26th April says, "The Directory also reckon on a peace with England:" and on the 2d of May the British Parliament voted one million eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds loan to the Emperor; likewise provision for guaranteeing three million five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised on account of the Emperor. This was on the day the news arrived of the Emperor's having made peace; the officiality of which, Mr. Pitt seemed unsatisfied with; but told the House if it was necessary to stop the loan, it could be done in any stage of the bill.

The conditions of the peace are variously stated. Some say that "Austria consents to the boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps, and the liberty of Lombardy and Mantua." Others state the conditions to be, "1st, the independence of Italy. 2d, The cession of part of Upper Austria to the Prince of Orange.

Orange. 3d, The expenses of the war to be paid by the Emperor.

The French armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine both passed that river about the 19th of April. General Moreau attacked and carried, at noon-day, the strong post of Kehl; before 7 o'clock planted the tri-coloured flag on the battlements of that very Kehl which they had defended for fifty-two days against Prince Charles and all the vigour of his veteran army. General Hoche established his position on the right side of the Rhine, after a pitched battle, and three actions, in which he took seven thousand prisoners, twenty-seven cannon, seven standards, and sixty waggons.

American Traitors.—*To the Editor of a Boston Paper*: Paris, March 29.—“To the disgrace of our country, and its degradation, in the eyes even of Frenchmen, there are a number of Americans, who, forgetful of every obligation which binds man to man, are engaged in fitting out privateers to cruise against the American commerce; and whose solicitations have been highly instrumental in procuring the unjust orders respecting American vessels, which have been issued by the Directory. I know not the names of all the persons thus concerned, but am made acquainted, that among them the following make a boast of their depredations, viz. Captain John Coffin Whitney, Captain William Cobell, Mr. William Allis, Mr. Benjamin Callender, and Mr. Samuel Hatch, all of your place, or its vicinity. There are others whom I have heard named; but they have been ashamed of their conduct, and have done all in their power to repair it. I sympathize with the friends, parents, and connexions of the persons named; as they must condemn a cupidity which gratifies itself at the expense of patriotism; and, to rescue myself and other Americans here from the general imputation, I must request

request that you make this as public as you can. Captain Thomas Lewis, of Marblehead ; Ellery, of Cape Ann ; several New-Yorkers, and Southers, are on the same black list."

Spanish Cruelty.—New-York, June 10. Captain Pratt, just arrived from Carthagena, reports that, while he lay there, the schooner Polly and Jenny, Captain Parsons, of fourteen guns, from Jamaica, was brought in there ; which, after an engagement of two hours with two Spanish privateers, one of sixteen, the other of ten guns, to the leeward of Carthagena, was boarded ; the Captain, first and second lieutenant, surgeon, and two of the people, murdered in the cabin ! The Captain was hauled upon deck, and had his head chopped off ! Those who were not Englishmen on board escaped this treatment. This was told Captain Pratt by the remainder of the Polly and Jenny's crew.

Mutiny in the Fleet.—Boston (same date as the above article). A serious mutiny broke out in the whole British channel fleet the 15th of April. On that day, when Admiral Bridport ordered the fleet to prepare for sea, instead of weighing anchor, the crew of the Queen Charlotte gave three cheers as a signal of disaffection ; as the plan had been premeditated, the rest of the crew followed. The officers, thunder-struck, could do nothing. They were soon all confined, and ropes hung from the fore-yard arm *in terrorem* to the unpopular of the fleet. Deputies from each ship repaired on board the Queen Charlotte, a first rate ; and the mutiny, in consequence of an intemperate procedure of Admiral Gardner, assumed the most alarming aspect. The demands of the seamen were an advance of pay to thirty shillings per month ; a due allowance of provisions ; a more equal distribution of prize-money, and the displacement

placement of several obnoxious officers. These demands created the most alarming apprehensions in the British Ministry; but they were complied with in their fullest extent. Admiral Bridport communicated to the crews the concession of the Government, and a pardon from the King; on which they all returned to their duty. The contagion spread through every port in England.

A new loan of 18,000,000*l.* was carried in the House of Commons May 2, 193 against 50.

No intelligence had been received from Mr. Hammond, who had been sent to Vienna on a pacific embassy.

Twenty-one counties, cities, and towns, have petitioned for peace and the dismissal of Pitt. Other counties were assembling.

Three per cent. consols, May 4, 48 1-2 *.

TUESDAY, 13th JUNE.

Paine's Gallantry.—Some of the papers sport Mr. Thomas Paine as a man of gallantry. They say, since his last trip to Paris, he was caught on his knees at a lady's feet by her husband. The Frenchman, astonished at what he saw, exclaimed, "*Vat the devil be you doing, Citizen Paine?*"—"Only," replied Paine, "*measuring your lady for a pair of stays.*" The Frenchman, quite pleased with Tom's answer, *kissed*, and *thanked* him for his politeness.

* To insert articles of foreign news is contrary to my plan; and I have only given a place to these two articles by way of preserving the date of the most distressing news that ever reached me. We now [1799] know that a great deal of what is contained in these articles was false; but we also know, that too much of it was true. Never was England so near the brink of destruction. I never felt any thing like doubt, as to the result of the war, except at the receipt of this news; and then I confess I was alarmed, though I did not despair. I still relied on the virtue and bravery of the nation; but the gloom was such as I could not see through.

WEDNESDAY,

WEDNESDAY, 14th JUNE.

Definition of a Patriot.—To Peter Porcupine. A correspondent of yours in one of your papers, in noticing some strictures by the O'Careys, has given them the significant title of Irish patriots. As the etymological history of this word is not, perhaps, very generally understood, I have taken the liberty of handing you the following definition.

The word *patriot* has its origin from one *Pat*, an Irishman, who lived in the time of Oliver Cromwell. He was a very turbulent and noisy fellow; always raving against the then republican Government, and often kicking up a *Riot*: from whence, the people used to observe on these occasions, that *Pat riots*. The two words have since become one, by being modelled into that of *patriot*.

Mr. Pinckney.—Letter from Harrisburg. SIR, It appears that our rejected envoy possesses the Christian virtue of humility in an eminent degree; when he is smitten upon one cheek he very cordially turns the other, and fervently prays for his enemies, though they despitefully use and persecute him. Notwithstanding his country has been loaded with every indignity that a French Directory is capable of offering, and himself treated with every personal insult, except the last, that of being whipped or kicked out of France (which, from every appearance, would have been the case had he continued there much longer), he concludes one of his dispatches to Mr. Pickering in these remarkable words: "No personal slights can prevent me from most earnestly praying that the independence and liberty of France may be firmly secured by a speedy and honourable peace." He dates one of his letters to La Croix, "7th Pluviose," addresses him by the title of "*Citizen Minister*," and concludes,

concludes, "Accept the assurance of my *perfect consideration*." This (ridiculous and contemptible at all times) is, in the present posture of affairs, mean, servile, and degrading. If he could have squeezed in "*salut et fraternité*," we should have had a complete formulary of republican epistolary cant; though we have no right to complain, as he has done tolerably well, considering the shortness of the letter alluded to. When did the people of America adopt this jargon? I believe we are all fully satisfied with our old mode of style and address, and have not yet seen the necessity of an alteration; particularly to sooth and flatter a nation which is at this moment trampling upon our dearest rights and adding insult to injury. And yet, after spending many days in debating whether any insults have been offered to our country, Congress have at length determined the point in the affirmative by a majority of two votes (fifty to forty-eight). O my country! how art thou fallen!

AN AMERICAN.

[The above remarks are just such as I would wish to have been the author of. Mr. Pinckney certainly did not behave with the dignity of a Minister from an independent State. What has been termed *prudence*, and *calumnies*, will meet with another name from the voice of other nations, and from the pen of the historian; and as to the adoption of the atheist calendar, it falls little short of the apostate ceremony of trampling upon the cross.]

THURSDAY, 15th JUNE.

Sieyes.—From a Paris paper of April 11. "A monster, a priest, ci-devant curate of Draguignan, entered this morning the house of Sieyes, member of the Council of Five Hundred, under pretence of asking some relief, and shot him with a pistol. Sieyes, while he was endeavouring to
 1 " put

“ put aside the pistol from his breast with his left
 “ hand, received two balls in his arm; a third grazed
 “ his haunch. The wound, though deep, fortunately does not appear to be mortal. Poul is the
 “ name of the assassin, a relation of the famous
 “ preacher of that name. He is arrested. A number of papers were found upon him, of which we
 “ do not yet know the contents *.”

French Intrigues in Georgia.—The following letter was received by Saturday’s post, but it came too late for insertion on that day. The reader will perceive that it is written by a foreigner, and will make allowances accordingly.

Charleston, 2d June, 1797.

Mr. Peter Porcupine,

If you flattered yourself because Adet’s diplomatic blunderbuss has made no great execution in a northern direction, it would have still less effect in a southern one, let me tell you that you are greatly mistaken.

* A Paris newsmonger may call this expelled priest a monster, if he pleases, nor will any one attempt to justify him; but if ever an assassin deserved to be called an avenger of his country’s wrongs, he who puts an end to the life of the infamous Sieyes will most certainly deserve it. This wretch was himself a Romish clergyman, and (as is common with apostates) become the most savage of the persecutors of the body to which he had belonged. He was one of those whom Playfair (in his History of Jacobinism) represents as celebrating with every demonstration of joy the bloody massacres of St. Domingo; and he is well known to be the man who had the principal part in organizing the *bold* insurrection of the 10th of August, for which he afterwards passed sentence of death on his Sovereign.

He has been of all parties, and well with all. In a controversy with Tom Paine he defended monarchy as *preferable to a republic*. He has successively acted with Brissot, Marat, Danton, Robespierre, Barrere, Tallien, and is at this moment (if the world is not delivered of him) active, plotting, under the devil of the five tyrants. So that, I think, the Paris newsmonger might have applied the term *monster* to the patient rather than to the doctor.

To convince you of your error, know then (and I am told it is no more a secret) that warlike preparations are made in some part of Georgia, either to fly to the assistance of the town of St. Augustine, supposed to be attacked before long by the English, or to take a previous possession of it and of the whole province of East Florida in the name of the French Republic. Know that, besides several recruits of that nation, about fifteen hundred of our own countrymen from the back parts of the southern States, are in readiness to march on that expedition, under the command of General Clarke, and headed by Spanish, German, and French officers. Know, that the monies draughted out of the treasuries of their State by the Legislature to pay its private debt to France, are employed by her Agent for clothing, paying, and fitting out with arms and ammunitions, that body of men, in joint expenses with the Spanish Consul. Know, that a certain French Baron, de B----y, who came last year to this city from Philadelphia in company with the Duke of Liancourt, under a disguise very often adopted in this part of the world by French spies, that of itinerant botanists; and who went back by himself to Philadelphia by land upon the very identical track of Monsieur Genet, is just returned again, and landed in this town, where his first question has been, What is the people's opinion about the new President's speech to Congress?

You may therefore conclude, Mr. Porcupine, from the aspect of things in these southern States, that some blows are prepared in the dark which will soon endanger their internal peace and welfare; and that if Adet's material body is returned to the land of Pluviose and Kilialeire, his intriguing genius, like the prophesying spirit of Elias, remains scattered among his disciples on this continent.

I am yours,

CAROLINIENSIS.

FRIDAY, 16th JUNE.

Buonaparte's Rapacity and Cruelty.—London, May 5. A letter from Milan of the 21st ult. written by a gentleman of known respectability, states the following particulars respecting the scandalous conduct of the French General in Italy, whose virtue and generosity we have sometimes extolled in the most enthusiastic strain :

“ The French owed the Venetians about 28 millions for grain, cattle, &c. as the inhabitants of the continental dominions of the Republic of Venice had chiefly furnished these articles. The French have discharged this debt, by bringing about a revolution in these provinces, which are likewise sure to be pillaged in the same manner as Lombardy. Immense contributions will be imposed as the price of liberty ; public and private property will be plundered, and all young men forced to enlist, or fly, that, in the latter case, their estates may be confiscated. Buonaparte, at the time he signed a treaty of peace with the Pope, invited against his Holiness the duchy of Urbino, which has lately been revolutionized. After having induced the Grand Duke of Tuscany to pay four million of livres on condition of the French garrison being withdrawn from Leghorn, he has ordered it to be again occupied by a whole division. The very moment the state of Genoa had ransomed itself, all its subjects who possessed any property in the Imperial fiefs, were crushed with taxes. Prince Doria has paid 150,000 livres ; and the Fiesques, the Balbis, and others, have been saddled with enormous sums.

“ Buonaparte has extorted from Lombardy 130 millions in money and merchandise, without taking into the account the spoliations of churches, the pillage of private property, and the robberies committed with arms in hand. Three hours were suf-

ficient for General Massena to seize on the Mount of Piety at Milan, containing precious effects, to the amount of fifteen millions of livres, and on the chests of the hospitals, communities, &c. The same line of conduct was observed by the French generals at Bologna, Modena, and Ferrara. All the furniture of the Archduke Ferdinand at Monza has been pillaged. This prince had removed a considerable part of his effects to Bergamo, a neutral town; but Buonaparte ordered them to be carried off by force, and a piece of furniture worth fifty thousand livres, with which the late Queen of France had presented the Archduchess, has fallen to the lot of his wife.

“Salicetti has by these means raised a fortune of four millions; Buonaparte, a still greater; and all the other generals and commissioners have collected considerable wealth.

“In addition to the robberies committed, Buonaparte has received considerable sums from Genoa, Venice, and the Pope, on his promising to spare them. As to the direct contribution in money, Lombardy has paid upwards of sixty-five millions. As the capital in circulation did not amount to more than twenty millions, it became necessary to discharge the remainder in merchandise, plate, and with money borrowed at Genoa. Count Litta, after having paid 500,000 livres, has fled for fear of worse treatment, and Count Gropi to pay 900,000 livres. All the inhabitants of Milan had been ordered, on pain of confiscation and banishment, to return to town; and now the permission to withdraw to their villas is sold them for 4000 livres per month. Marchesi, the celebrated singer, having refused to appear on the stage, was ordered by Buonaparte to quit Lombardy within three days, and not to return on pain of death.

“A beautiful passage of Tasso's Jerusalem appears

appears extremely appropriate to the present state of Italy. It is thus translated by the elegant Mr. Hoole :

“ Shall then a savage race, whose barbarous mind
No reason governs, and no laws can bind—
Shall these, insatiate still of wealth and blood,
Lay on our willing necks the servile load ?
Such are the suffering and th’ insulting scorn,
Which seven long years our passive train has borne :
That distant Rome may blush to hear our shame,
And future times reproach th’ Italian name.”

French and Spaniards unite to plunder, the Americans.—The ship Alfred, of Boston, Captain Asguith, bound from Lisbon to Saffee, with 12,000 dollars on board, was captured by a French privateer, who took out the money, and put it in the privateer, and put men on board to bring her into Ceuta ; but on the 14th of April was captured by Admiral Jervis, who liberated her, and desired the Captain to go to Cadiz to seek redress for the money, and on the night of the 6th the Captain ran the ship on shore, six miles to the southward of Cadiz. The Captain and crew, on their arrival at Cadiz, were put in irons in the castle called Santa Pietre.

SATURDAY, 17th JUNE.

Post-office Rascality.—It will be recollected, perhaps, that I sometime ago publicly complained of the injury I was likely to sustain from the foul play shown to my paper, in its passage to distant places. I then intimated, that it must certainly be ascribable to the post-masters on the road ; and I think the following extract of a letter will convince the public, that my charge was not ill founded.

“ Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 8th June, 1797.

“ SIR, By the assistance of Mr.——, I have
“ become

“ become a subscriber for your Gazette. I received
 “ your papers regularly for two or three weeks, but
 “ since that, for several successive weeks, the *bills of*
 “ *postage have come, but not a single paper.* I am
 “ much disappointed, as I valued your Gazette more
 “ highly than any other paper we receive, and in-
 “ tended to preserve them with the utmost care. I
 “ am not inclined to think that the post-master at
 “ Philadelphia is so inattentive as to *send a bill*
 “ *weekly, and omit sending the papers ;* but it is owing
 “ to the *treachery of some scoundrel on the road.*”

From the *bills of postage* having regularly got to hand, it is clear, that the papers were as regularly lodged in the post-office here, and as they have not arrived at Stockbridge, they must have been detained by some *post-master or post-masters.*

I have complaints of the same kind from the neighbourhood of *Fredericksburgh*, and from the town of *Norfolk*, at which latter place, the printers Willet and O'Connor, who have always had a paper regularly sent, without a single omission, complain of *never having received one.*

To suppress so dastardly and assassin-like a conspiracy against the liberty of the press, and so contemptuous a violation of the law of the Union, I am induced to offer to any one who will give information against any post-master, or deputy, who shall steal, or by detention, or otherwise retard the progress of Porcupine's Gazette, so that the said post-master, or deputy, may be prosecuted to conviction, the sum of five hundred dollars ; and I do hereby offer, and engage myself to pay the said sum to such informer, in ten days after such conviction shall take place in any of the courts of the United States of America.

WM. COBBETT.

Philadelphia, June 15, 1797.

Partiality for France.—MR. PORCUPINE, The fear of offending France, and the danger of bringing on ourselves her terrible arms, is the burden of the song with all the opposition members in Congress. Although they are sensible that our commerce is in danger of being annihilated, and that our seamen will all desert into foreign service, if Government does not take some effectual means to protect them; that protection is as much a duty as allegiance, and repugnant neither to the law of nations, nor to the treaties existing between the two countries; they are still haunted by the terrors of war; they have but one answer to all kinds of arguments on the subject; but one unvarying dismal cuckoo-song.

These philosophers shudder at the very thought of arms; the idea of shedding blood, even in their own defence, makes the sweet milk of humanity stand still, and curdle in their veins. It is very true, they confess we have been robbed of twelve or fourteen millions of dollars; our Government has been shamefully insulted; our Minister has been dismissed like a spy or a vagabond; our seamen are dying by scores in French prisons; and the French still continue their piracies; but we had better lose all, say they, and suffer all, than prepare to defend ourselves, or even to talk about it; the Directory will hear of it, and we shall certainly have a war.

One would imagine, that the opposition were all converted into good peaceable Quakers, if he did not recollect the eagerness that the same men discovered, about two years since, to go to war with England, for spoiliations inconsiderable, when compared with those of France; that it required all the address, the influence, and firmness of Washington, to preserve the peace; or, if he had forgot their extravagant rejoicings for the bloody victories of France, her oppression and tyranny over the surrounding nations. But these facts, recorded in all the Gazettes
of

of the day, to the lasting infamy of these hypocritical friends of peace, furnish a key to unlock the secret. The truth is, and it is a fact I wish the reader to remember, they have not the least scruple whatever to plunge their country into a war with Great Britain, by which we should lose more in one year, than by the enmity of France in ten; but rather than quarrel with the *grand Republic*, they would submit to any thing, however injurious or degrading. They are ready to palliate, if not justify, all her enormities; to make treaties, or to unmake them, as she shall dictate: nay, so excessive is their complaisance, that they are willing not only to pardon all her offences, to cancel all her debts, but to transfer the guilt of her crimes to what they are base enough to call the errors of their own Government.

If this is not French influence, it is not treachery to the United States, I do not know what name to give it.

French Decrees against the United States.—FRENCH ARRET of April 10. “The Executive Directory directs that the passports granted by the Ministers and diplomatic Envoys of the United States of America, or passports certified by them, shall not be admitted, nor acknowledged of any authority.

“The Minister of Police is charged with the execution of this arret, which shall be printed.

(Signed)

“REWBELL, President.

“LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.”

19th. It is stated as a certain fact, that the Minister of External Relations has written to the Commissioners of the Treasury, not to pay any sums due to the Americans. Has Charles De la Croix had the dexterity to break altogether an alliance which Robespierre himself respected? He is, without doubt, ignorant

ignorant how much commerce and maritime advantage this rupture will hold out to England.

MONDAY, 19th JUNE.

Blockade of Cadiz.—Captain John Barton, from Cadiz, has politely handed us the following :

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Captain,
SIR, *off Cadiz, 11th April, 1797.*

In consequence of the unprovoked declaration of war from his Catholic Majesty, against his Britannic Majesty and the British nation, it is found right that Spain should no longer have any trade.

I have therefore the honour to acquaint you, that no neutral vessel shall hereafter be suffered to enter or leave the port of Cadiz, without having obtained my permission, or that of the Commander in Chief of the British fleet, that from this moment Cadiz is to be considered as a blockaded port.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

To the Danish Consul.

Jose Yznardy Esq. Pro-consul General for the United States of America, in Cadiz, &c.

It is hereby made known, in the name of the Government of the United States, that it is meet and is necessary for the better security of commerce, that all vessels now in the bay, cleared by this consulate, should suspend their sailing until further orders; and whatever captain transgresses this notice, is to be accountable for all and every consequence which may result from his disobedience, either against any particular American citizen, or the nation at large.

Cadiz, 14th April, 1797.

Postscript

Postscript to Admiral Nelson's Order, published in this Gazette of Friday last.

P. S. Rear-admiral Nelson requests the American Consul will have the goodness to direct his letter to the Danish Consul, and make it public for the information of all other consuls.

Copy of the Letter addressed to Rear-admiral Nelson.

SIR,

Cadiz, April 15, 1797.

The American Consul residing in this city has shown us the official note which you have addressed to him, wherein you mention that this is to be considered as a blockaded port, and that no vessel will be suffered to pass in or out, without your or the Chief Commander's leave. We cannot but express our surprise at this unexpected intelligence, the more so, as said measure is contrary to the existing treaties of amity and commerce between our respective sovereigns and nations, and the King of Great Britain and the British nation. Appearing, as it does by your said official note, that an absolute power is invested in the Chief Commander and in you, we deem it a duty highly incumbent upon us, before we communicate the needful information to our respective superiors, to request you will be pleased to inform us in answer, whether vessels belonging to Americans, Danes, Swedes, Venetians, and Genoese, some now ready to put to sea, and others partly loaded, bound for neutral ports, and furnished with certificates specifying the property on board to be *bona fide* neutral, will be suffered to proceed on their voyages, without running the risk of being detained; and we beg leave to observe, that we conceive an explicit and categorical answer on this important head, due to the permanent friendship professed by our respective nations, and the constant desire they show to

to continue in amity and good understanding with his Britannic Majesty and the British nation.

In case you should not judge proper to grant said request, we have to beg your precise information thereon, that we may jointly dispatch an express to the court of London, in order to solicit the just accomplishment of this application.

(COPY.)

*Ville de Paris, off Cadiz,
19th April, 1797.*

GENTLEMEN,

Although I do by no means admit the reasoning in your letter of the 15th instant, addressed to Rear-admiral Nelson, that the blockade of an enemy's port is unusual, much less unprecedented; having in two instances carried a similar measure into execution during the last year, in the Mediterranean, viz. Toulon and Leghorn; I have great satisfaction in relieving the minds of the merchants of neutral powers resident in Cadiz, by giving you the most unequivocal assurances, that the ships and vessels of neutral nations, loaded with *bona fide* property of neutral merchants, carrying clear and authentic documents in proof thereof, will (upon presenting them to the commanding officer of the Squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships under my command) be permitted to proceed from Cadiz to their respective destinations, after such examination as the said officer shall in his discretion judge necessary to make.

(Signed)

JERVIS.

Neutral Consuls resident at Cadiz.

M' Lane, the French Spy, in Canada.—We learn, by undoubted authority, that a certain Major M' Lane, from the State of Rhode Island, and a brother of his, a Thomas Butterfield, from this State, have lately been apprehended, and are now in irons in Quebec, upon

upon something more than a suspicion of unreasonable practices against the government of that province. It was found that Major M'Lane had a commission under the French Republic, was under pay, and for about two years past had been faithfully employed among the French inhabitants, whispering sedition in their ears, sounding their dispositions, and endeavouring to engage them to rise against their present government. On examination it appeared, that this was a branch of an extensive plan of operations settled in the French cabinet ; that M'Lane had so far succeeded in his enterprise, that, upon the arrival of a French fleet in the river St. Laurence, the magazines were to be blown up, and the French inhabitants to rise in a mass, fly to arms, and exterminate the English. Several characters in this State are implicated as participating in the scheme.

French and American Flags.—The last Boston Centinel, under the head of Rumours, after mentioning several which we have already published, says, “ It “ is rumoured in this town, *via* Marblehead, that “ the French Council of Five Hundred has ordered “ Barney’s American flag * to be taken down from “ the walls of their hall ! It will be remembered, “ that the flag in question *was never presented by the “ American Government.*”

But it will be remembered though, that the French flag in return for it, was *received by the American Government*, and by every branch of it successively ; and a most trifling, childish (not to say shameful

* This flag is called Barney’s, I presume, because it was carried into the Convention, and delivered to the President, by that renegade captain ; but he acted under the direction of Munroe, the American ambassador ; and the flag that the Convention sent to the Congress in return, was formally received, and deposited in the archives by the three branches of the Legislature.—See the “ *Prospect from the Congress Gallery.*”

and scandalous) exhibition it was. At the time when this dirty flag was received here, no one said a word against its reception; it is, therefore, too late to disown the gift for which it was a return. The best way is, to confess our folly, and avoid the like in future.

Advertisement Extraordinary.—The following extraordinary advertisement is copied from the Boston Centinel of the 14th inst.—“Whereas my wife Betsey has eloped from my bed and board, and has behaved in an unbecoming and indecent manner, by propagating the human species in a way other than the one prescribed by law; this is to caution all kinds of people, both *black, white, or piebald*, against trusting her on my account (*harbour they may if they can*); as I will not pay one *mille* of her contracting after this date.

“JOHN BOLTON.

“*Bridgewater, June 14.*”

TUESDAY, 20th JUNE.

Sans-culotte Morality.—From a Paris paper of the 4th April.—The roads through the republican territory continue to be infested by robbers, insomuch, that those who have occasion to travel, having been long apprized by the public prints of the number of assassinations committed by those brigands, no longer expose themselves by night on the public roads. The brigands thus finding their plans defeated, have adopted another mode, of which one of them became the victim a few days ago.

In the village of Trappe, about a league distant from Versailles, a traveller found himself benighted. The roads near the village being unsafe, he determined to sleep there. He entered into a small tavern, and conversed with the wife, in whose conversation he

thought he could distinguish an honest heart. Just as he was on the point of going to bed, at half past ten o'clock, he heard some one entering the house ; he listened gently at the door, to discover whether it was the landlord of the tavern, who was absent on his arrival. The first words he heard, were addressed by the wife to the husband : " Have you found any game this evening ? " — " No," replied the husband. " We have some above stairs," said the wife. They now went in, and the traveller heard no more. His situation was terrible. To remain where he was, was dangerous ; to make a pretext for going out, still more so. He stirred the cinders, as if in the act of covering the fire, let his shoes fall, and, in a word, made pretty nearly the noise of a person going to bed. He now seated himself on the bed, kept his pistols and sword in readiness, and expected, not without agitation, the moment when he foresaw he should be attacked. At midnight, the noise of a ladder placed against the wall, and that of a trap raised at the bed-side, convinced him of the attempt which was about to be made. He crept by the foot of the bed, and at the instant when the tavern-keeper had half entered the room, he made a cut at his head with a sabre. The latter fell into the apartment below. The light being extinguished, the woman, who mistook her wounded husband for the traveller, laid hold of him and cut his throat. At this moment the trampling of horses was heard ; the traveller looked out at the window, and perceived a body of gendarmes who were returning from escorting the mail. He gave an alarm, and the gendarmes forced the door. The traveller told his story. The gendarmes seized both him and the woman, and conducted them to prison at Versailles, where they are now trying by the Criminal Tribunal of the department of Seine and Oise.

Premium on the Capture of American Flour.—The Commission of St. Domingo have resolved to give a bounty of half a dollar per barrel to privateer owners and crews, for all the flour they shall lawfully capture and bring into that port.

Here the *commissioned* scoundrels of St. Domingo are endeavouring to outwit the black and mulatto pirates, that they equip to plunder the American trade. The owners and crews are promised half a dollar a barrel bounty, on all the flour they shall *lawfully* capture and bring into the island; but what is not lawfully captured, as is the case with nine tenths of their prizes, I suppose must be sold, or stored, for the benefit of the Commissioners.

WEDNESDAY, 21st JUNE.

Captain Young's ingenious Deception.—New-York, June 19. Captain Francis Young, of the brig Polaski, which sailed from this port the 26th April, off Cape St. Nicola Mole, about three leagues, fell in with one French schooner and three boats in a calm. They came within musket-shot of him, and fired. They hoisted national colours. The brig had fourteen wooden guns. Captain Young finding they were resolved to come on board, made two cartridges with powder, tarred canvass over them, and then wound rope-yarns on them, until each was as big as a man's head, leaving a hole for priming. He then made them fast to the wooden guns, and fired one to the leeward, but hoisted no colours. They still approaching, he hauled up the courses, as is customary when a ship engages, set the English colours, and fired one of them to the windward, which made as much report as a six-pounder. They put back for the shore. The brig stood for them until there came a good breeze, then made all sail, and got off.

It was that alone which saved him, and a brig that belonged to Philadelphia that was in company.

Bache's treasonable Publications.—Mr. PORCUPINE, I have often wondered at the audacity of old Ben's grandson, and have been surprised that he has not been stopped in his treasonable career of abuse against the Government of the United States, before this time. I am no friend to needless prosecutions for the offences of the press: they are weeds natural to the rich soil of liberty; but there are certain limits beyond which they are extremely dangerous, and ought to be checked. There is hardly a paper that has been issued from this pestilential press, since the opening of the present Congress, that has not been strongly marked with sentiments seditious, inflammatory, and libellous. As a specimen, I have selected only two or three out of the paper of yesterday morning, which I request you to republish, that the citizens of the United States may see the enormity, and provide some remedy for it, before the evil becomes incurable. Speaking of the expenses incurred by the present session of Congress, he says:

“If this enormous expense is incurred at the threshold, what may we not expect, when effect shall be given to the hostile views of John Adams and the British faction? If the people are still blinded to the views of the President by three votes, and his adherents, they will soon open their eyes to as infamous a system as ever was attempted to be practised upon a free people. Twenty-one thousand dollars for an answer to the speech of a man *who is meditating war and ruin to the United States*, is such a stupendous act of folly and extravagance, as scarcely to be equalled in the annals of any country.

“Mr. Adams, in his war-whoop, talks about a wound in the American bosom. The King of Great

Great Britain and the Emperor talked" in the same manner, he says, and then adds, " France has given them a salve for their wounds; and if Mr. Adams will indulge his own sensations, *cross the Atlantic, and join his two friends*, he will also find a salve for the wound in his bosom."

The quotations require no comment: they speak for themselves: they may be traced to their source, and the reader will readily guess where that lies, when he is told that this prostitute son of oil and lamp-black was the intimate of all the French Ministers, and disperses many (I might say hundreds) of his papers daily among non-subscribers.

This last-mentioned fact I can corroborate; for I myself get every day one of two papers which Bache has, for many months, continued to send to a person who does not subscribe to his infernal folio.

— —

Dreadful Storm.—Wilmington, June 19. On Saturday about noon, the appearance of the horizon in the north-west indicated a growing and sudden gust: between the hours of two and three it reached this place. The thunder was sharp, the lightning vivid, and the rain fell in torrents. It is remarkable that, during this storm, hail, rain, and pieces of ice, fell alternately. In some places in the neighbourhood it is asserted, that the hail, or pieces of ice, measured six inches diameter: the windows of several houses have been shattered. We do not hear of any other damage or accident occurring.

Yesterday (Sunday) was so intensely warm and close, that a refreshing breeze was sought in every direction. In the middle of the day, the wind shifted due north, and towards evening we were visited with a gust not inferior to that of the previous day, with this difference, that no hail nor ice fell, but the air was so sharp and cold as to make the fire-side comfortable: and doors, which a few hours

before had been thrown open to cause a free circulation of air, were as eagerly shut, as if to guard against a north-western in the month of December. The gingham gentry and invalids were either cloaked or housed for the remainder of the evening.

THURSDAY, 22^d JUNE.

Congressional Indecorum.—In reading the debates of our present House of Representatives (as they are called), how is the mind of him who loves his country, and whose heart beats with anxiety, when any thing occurs in which her dignity and honour are interested, torn with the most excruciating of all reflections, when he sees that honour and that dignity, upon which we so much, and heretofore so *justly* prided ourselves, entrusted to the protection of a set of men, who seem so little interested in its preservation; and that House, on whom the public safety, and national character, depends, turned into an assembly for the display of abilities, that, in many instances, might do honour to a society at Billingsgate! Declamation they do use, but of what species is it? The subject *personal*—the end in view *personal*—the resulting evil may, and is very like to have a more *public* influence. Talents many of them, without doubt, possess; but when talents are so miserably misapplied, in private life they excite our contempt; in a public situation, so important as the Representative of a *would-be free people*, they *should* cause a very different feeling; and in most instances do raise a sentiment that few, who wish their country's welfare at the present crisis, would willingly cherish. Their puerilities, or, as Mr. Thatcher terms it, their *innocent mirth*, are disgusting; the abuse and invective thrown out by one, and recriminated by another, is degrading in the lowest degree. It sinks the individual members in the esteem of the people; it cannot

not fail of sinking the respectability of the House in the opinion of the world. It would have made the senate of Carthage blush in its most unpolished state. The members of that corrupt body would have shrunk from the use of such language as forms the *ornament* of most of the speeches in our polite and civilized *Sanhedrim*.

Yet let us not boast of what we *were*, but look at what we *are* ! No more a subject of envy, but a monument of pride, of impotence, and servility, for the world to gaze at ! Pilfered and spurned by the *friend* we folded to our unsuspecting heart ; a mere football to be kicked about at the pleasure of every petty European tyrant ! without power, seemingly without the wish either to avoid or to resent it !

While this is our situation, those dignified by the *title* of *Representatives* of the *People*, waste their time and the public money, in vague and desultory debate, in calling each other traitors, factionists, fools, and upbraiding with guilt and treachery, with the only apparent object of putting still farther off, the business upon which they were assembled. 'Tis astonishing ! 'tis distressing ! 'tis abominable ! Would to Heaven they would either learn to talk sense, or else go home : either is preferable to the present.

FRIDAY, 23^d JUNE.

American Youth.—Mr. COBBETT, You conclude your remarks of Saturday evening, on the official account of the scandalous behaviour of the most magnanimous and most Catholic Dons towards our Government, through Mr. Ellicott, with these words :
 “ The American youth are now as gentle as lambs ;
 “ their hearts, which whilom beat so high, now lie
 “ as lumpish as a steel dumpling.”

I beg leave, Sir, to tell you, that the independent

hearts of the American youth beat as high now to signalize their valour, as they did when Monsieur Smith thought it necessary to endeavour with his boisterous eloquence to wake their spirit. The American youth have been educated in principles of independence, love of freedom and their country. When a blow is aimed at her, when she is used with indignity, they do not take into consideration who the nation is that attempts to subvert her independence, but are ever prepared to repel with indignation every such attempt, to prove to the world that the spirit of their fathers lives in them, that they do not regard the qualifications of a master, and that they will, to the last drop of their blood, defend the government of their country against the wearers of plain or tri-coloured cockades, against intriguing royalists or intriguing republicans.

All the reason that I can assign for Monsieur Smith's silence at this critical moment, when war stares us in the face, why he and his co-operators view the same behaviour in different countries, in different lights, is simply this; their feelings are not American; France is their country; the oppressors of the world their fellow-citizens. This was the reason why we were not to attempt to obtain redress from Britain for her aggressions, but immediately to declare war against her—and this is the reason why we are now to suffer every injury that France can possibly accumulate upon us, without daring to say more than that her unparalleled aggressions have “excited our warmest sensibility.”

Yet the hearts of the independent American youth are not acted upon by such reasons: America is their country, her freedom is dear to their hearts: they know that that country, by the power of her arms, obliged a nation to acknowledge her independence, a nation which has ever been able to conquer those who now attempt to oppress as.

Animated

Animated with this reflection, whenever the fathers of the land think proper to call upon them to signalize their valour, they will be found ready to prove that the heat of their hearts is not regulated by any other consideration than the weight of the insult offered their country.

JUVENIS.

Remark.—The signature of the foregoing letter is a satisfactory excuse for the little irregularities that may be found in the style: as to the sentiments, they stand in no need of apology; it is only to be regretted that they are not as generally prevalent as Juvenis imagines. The young men who were so proud, a year or two ago, to decorate their hats and caps with the tri-coloured cockade, are not, I am afraid, now ready to defend the government of their country against its wearers to the last drop of their blood.

SATURDAY, 24th JUNE.

Mr. Marshall's Departure from Richmond.—Richmond, June 21. On Thursday last an elegant entertainment was given by a number of the gentlemen of Richmond to General Marshall, as a testimonial of their pleasure at his being appointed one of the ambassadors for the adjustment of the differences which so unhappily exist betwixt this country and the Republic of France. We cannot call to mind an instance of the kind in which such a general harmony was discoverable. Many toasts were given immediately applicable to the occasion of the feast, which expressed the liveliest sentiments of affection for the French—conveying, at the same time, a just sense of the injury we have received from that nation, and indicating a perfect reliance upon the wisdom of our ambassadors, and *the justice of the Republic*

Republic for the complete restoration of that friendship which has been so *unfortunately* disturbed.

Yesterday evening our worthy fellow-citizen John Marshall, left this city, in order to join his colleague, Mr. Dana, at Philadelphia, from whence they go immediately to France. Mr. Marshall was escorted seven or eight miles on the road by the city light-horse, by a discharge of cannon—in short, every mark of attention which could be, was shown upon this occasion. At parting with his company, the manly aspect of the General appeared to yield to his natural sensibility; and not having, at this moment, words to express his thanks for their politeness—a tear evinced the feelings of his mind, and foretold, *that his country's good rested on his heart.*—*Health* to his person—*Pleasure* to his voyage—and **SUCCESS** to the negotiation *.

MONDAY, 26th JUNE.

Bache and Jefferson.—Bache calls Mr. Adams the President by three votes; he forgets that his friend Jefferson is Vice-president by a still smaller number, and though by the constitution elected, yet had not even a majority of the votes of the electors. Is it like a republican to reflect on the will of the majority, however small? Do not all true republicans respect the will of the majority? Can republican government be administered on any other principles? Do Mr. Jefferson's friends recollect that the act for fixing the seat of government on the Potow-

* Still the same whining cant about the *justice of THE Republic*," and the "*friendship which has been so UNFORTUNATELY disturbed*," and the vile hankering after the "*SUCCESS of the negotiation!*" Still the same poor, pusillanimous sentiments! Where will this end?

JUNE, 1797.

mac was carried by a majority of one in the Senate, and of two in the Representatives, and that the time for removing there is nearly at hand? Let them think of these things.

Boston Chronicle.—The American public are requested to read the following sentiment in the last *Chronicle*—"For I hold it would be far better to have "a CIVIL WAR, than a war with France." That is to say, *State against State—neighbour against neighbour—son against father—and brother against brother*—for this is the case in those most horrible of all scourges, *civil wars!* I put the French and all other foreigners out of sight in this instance; for our legally constituted authorities will take, I doubt not, proper steps with them, and proper care of ourselves. I only mean to attract the public attention to a *treasonable sentiment*, which ought not to pass, like the ordinary abuse of the *Chronicle*, unnoticed. If there be any relation of Marat's in this country capable of writing such a sentiment, is it not shocking that a printer can be found so *forgetful* of himself and country as to print it, and publish it to his fellow citizens? This is a *liberty of the press* very little short of the liberty of burning our houses, so lately practised by some of the same stamp with that writer.

Orleans, alias Egalités.—Washington, Pennsylvania, June 30. Passed through this town on Saturday last, on their way to Philadelphia, the three sons of the late Duke of Orleans (*Egalité*). It is said that *they have explored the greater part of the western country* *.

TUESDAY,

* Being of royal blood, they have been, I suppose, chalking out kingdoms for themselves, in lieu of the seigneuries the Carmagnoles have kicked them out of. Of this we may be certain; that

TUESDAY, 27th JUNE.

Treaty with Tripoli, negotiated by Joel Barlow.—Whereas a treaty of peace and friendship has been concluded in the manner herein-after mentioned, by the Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, and the Bey and subjects of Tripoli of Barbary; which treaty, written in the Arabic language, being translated into the language of the United States, is in the words following, to wit:

Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States of America and the Bey and Subjects of Tripoli of Barbary:

Art. 1. There is a firm and perpetual peace and friendship between the United States of America, and the Bey and subjects of Tripoli of Barbary, made by the free consent of both parties, and guaranteed by the most potent Dey and Regency of Algiers.

Art. 2. If any goods belonging to any nation with which either of the parties is at war, shall be loaded on board of vessels belonging to the other party, they shall pass free, and no attempt shall be made to take or detain them.

Art. 3. If any citizen, subjects, or effects, belonging to either party, shall be found on board a prize vessel taken from an enemy by the other party, such citizens or subjects shall be set at liberty, and the effects restored to the owners.

Art. 4. Proper passports are to be given to all vessels of both parties, by which they are to be known. And considering the distance between the two coun-

that they have not been surveying the western country for nothing. —The French are getting round us on every side. These aristocrats are just as dangerous as the sans-culottes. However they may differ in other respects, they all agree in a wish to extend the dominions of France, and the fame of the French name, and particularly in an irreconcilable, natural, innate hatred of all that is English, or that is related to or with England.

tries, eighteen months from the date of this treaty shall be allowed for procuring such passports. During this interval, the other papers belonging to such vessels shall be sufficient for their protection.

Art. 5. A citizen or subject of either party having bought a prize condemned by the party or by any other nation, the certificate of condemnation and bill of sale shall be a sufficient passport for one year: this being a reasonable time for her to procure a proper passport.

Art. 6. Vessels of either party putting into the ports of the other, and having need of provisions or other supplies, they shall be furnished at the market price. And if any such vessel shall so put in from a disaster at sea, and have occasion to repair, she shall be at liberty to land and re-embark her cargo, without paying any duties. But in no case shall she be compelled to land her cargo.

Art. 7. Should a vessel of either party be cast on the shore of the other, all proper assistance shall be given to her and her people; no pillage shall be allowed; the property shall remain at the disposal of the owners, and the crew protected and succoured till they can be sent to their country.

Art. 8. If a vessel of either party should be attacked by an enemy within gun-shot of the forts of either, she shall be defended as much as possible. If she be in port, she shall not be seized or attacked when it is in the power of the other party to protect her; and when she proceeds to sea, no enemy shall be allowed to pursue her from the same port within twenty-four hours after her departure.

Art. 9. The commerce between the United States and Tripoli—the protection to be given to merchants, masters of vessels, and seamen—the reciprocal right of establishing consuls in each country, and the privileges, immunities, and jurisdictions, to be enjoyed by such consuls, are declared to be on the same

same footing with those of the most favoured nations respectively.

Art. 10. The money and presents demanded by the Bey of Tripoli as a full and satisfactory consideration on his part, and on the part of his subjects, for this treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, are acknowledged to have been received by him previous to his signing the same, according to a receipt which is hereto annexed, except such part as is promised on the part of the United States to be delivered and paid by them on the arrival of their Consul in Tripoli, of which part a note is likewise hereto annexed. And no pretence of any periodical tribute or farther payment is ever to be made by either party.

Art. 11. As the Government of the United States of America is *not in any sense founded on the Christian religion*, as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmen—and as the said States have never entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries.

Art. 12. In case of any dispute arising from a violation of any of the articles of this treaty, no appeal shall be made to arms, nor shall war be declared on any pretext whatever. But if the Consul residing at the place where the dispute shall happen, shall not be able to settle the same, an amicable reference shall be made to the mutual friend of the parties here, by engaging to abide by his decision. And he, by virtue of his signature to this treaty, engages, for himself and his successors, to declare the justice of the case according to the true interpretation of the treaty, and to use all the means in his power to enforce the observance of the same.

Signed

Signed and sealed at Tripoli of Barbary, the 3d day of Jumed in the year of the Hegira 1211—corresponding with the 4th day of November, 1796—by

(L. s.) JUSSUF BASHAW MAHOMET, Bey.

(L. s.) *Mamet*, Treasurer.

(L. s.) *Amet*, Minister of Marine.

(L. s.) *Amet*, Chamberlain.

(L. s.) *Ally*, Chief of the Divan.

(L. s.) *Soliman Caya*.

(L. s.) *Galil*, General of the Troops.

(L. s.) *Mahomet*, Comdt. of the City.

(L. s.) *Mamet*, Secretary.

Signed and sealed at Algiers the 4th day of Argil, 1211, corresponding with the 3d day of January, 1797, by

(L. s.) *Hassan Bashaw*, Dey.

And by the Agent Plenipotentiary of the United States of America,

(L. s.) *Joel Barlow*.

I Joel Barlow, Agent and Consul-General of the United States of America, for the city and kingdom of Algiers, certify and attest that the foregoing is a true copy of the treaty concluded between the said United States, and the Bey and subjects of Tripoli of Barbary, of which the original is to be transmitted by me to the Minister of the said United States, in Lisbon.

In testimony whereof, I sign these presents with my hand, and affix thereto the seal of the
(L. s.) Consulate of the United States, at Algiers, this 4th day of January, 1797.

JOEL BARLOW.

To all to whom these presents shall come or be made known.

Whereas the underwriter David Humphreys hath been duly appointed Commissioner Plenipotentiary, by letters patent under the signature of the President
and

and seal of the United States of America, dated the 30th of March, 1795, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the most illustrious the Bashaw, Lords and Governors of the city and kingdom of Tripoli:—Whereas by a writing under his hand and seal, dated the 10th February, 1796, he did (in conformity to the authority committed me therefor) constitute and appoint Joel Barlow, and Joseph Donaldson, jun. Agents, jointly and separately, in the business aforesaid:—Whereas the annexed treaty of peace and friendship was agreed upon, signed, and sealed, at Tripoli of Barbary, and on the 4th of November, 1796, in virtue of the powers aforesaid, and guaranteed by the most potent Dey and Regency of Algiers; and whereas the same was certified at Algiers on the 3d day of January, 1797, with the signature and seal of Hassan Bashaw, Dey, and of Joel Barlow, one of the agents aforesaid, in the absence of the other:

Now know ye, that I, David Humphreys, Commissioner Plenipotentiary aforesaid, do approve and conclude the said treaty, and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same and nevertheless for the final ratification of the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said United States. In testimony whereof, I have signed the same with my name and seal, at the city of Lisbon, this 10th of February, 1797.

(L. s.)

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Now be it known, that I John Adams, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered the said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, accept, ratify, and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof. And to the end that the said treaty may be observed and performed with good faith on the part of the United States, I have ordered the premises to be
made

made public; and I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all other citizens or inhabitants thereof, faithfully to observe and fulfil the said treaty, and every clause and article thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed with my hand.

(L. s.) Done at the city of Philadelphia; the tenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty-first.

JOHN ADAMS*.

WEDNESDAY, 28th JUNE.

O'Carey's Rascality.—The readers of this paper may, perhaps, remember seeing, the other evening, a paragraph in it, defending the Circus against the attack of the O'Careys, and stating that those attacks were occasioned by a refusal, on the part of the Circus people, to advertise in their paper. This paragraph, the enraged editors, in their paper of last evening, attributed to me, and at the same time call it "a puff, to support the declining attractions of the Circus." This they were led to believe, I suppose, because the Circus-man is a Frenchman, it being well known that I have an extreme partiality for that nation.

* The 11th article of this treaty certainly wants some explanation. That "the government of the United States of America is in no sense founded on the *Christian religion*," is a declaration that one might have expected from *Soliman Kaya*, *Hassan Bashaw*, or the fans-culotte *Joel Barlow*; but it sounds rather oddly from the *President and Senate*. If it will admit of satisfactory explanation it ought to receive it; for it certainly looks a little like *trampling upon the cross*.

The truth is, the O'Careys knew well that I was not the author of the paragraph in question; but they chose to make a handle of it to introduce an accusation, which, if well founded, would sink me beneath a shoeblack, and almost to a level with themselves. They say: "We have heard, Peter, of your cringing letter to the directors of the canal lottery, to advertise and do all their printing for nothing, as soon as you found that we had been employed for that purpose."

Now, the history of the business will show what infamous miscreants the great O's must be. I took, on credit, fifty canal lottery tickets for sale. It is of little consequence what was my motive for so doing, whether it was of a public or private nature, whether from a wish to bring water into the city or money into my pocket. I did it; I had the tickets for sale; I sold many; and I thought it was natural for my subscribers to expect, that, while I published tickets for sale, I should accommodate them with an account of the drawing. The first day's drawing appeared in the O'Careys' paper, and, as I supposed the drawing would appear there regularly, I advertised my tickets for sale, with a promise to give the lists of the drawings as they came out.

I must confess I felt a repugnance at being obliged to copy the lists from the great O's paper; besides, I should have laboured under the disadvantage of being always a day later than they. I therefore sent my clerk to inquire whether he might not be permitted to copy them from the check-book at the office. This brought the check clerk to me. He would not grant that liberty: but he very politely offered to favour me with the lists, on condition of receiving some trifling compensation. This favour I could not think of accepting; and I once more turned, though with a most cursed ill will, to the vile receptacle of the O'Careys. However, Mr.

Standish

Standish Forde, the principal manager, seeing my advertisement promising the lists; and perceiving, I presume, the advantage the institution would derive from it, offered without any letter or application on my part) to furnish me with an authentic list of the drawings; which has been done ever since.

I advertise nothing for the lottery-office. It is for myself; for the sale of my own tickets. When I advertise for the lottery-office I will be paid. The advantage of my publishing the lists has, I believe, already been perceived by all those who have any thing to do with the institution. It has made the lottery known, where it never was before heard of, and has brought hundreds of dollars to this city from the remotest parts of the Union. I often receive a hundred dollars by one post for tickets. I have already taken three thousand dollars worth, and have no doubt but I shall dispose of tickets to twice that amount. Compared to a paper like mine, what is the O'Careys'? The number of papers that I print more than any other man in the city is greater than what the O'Careys print altogether. It was well enough to confine the lists to a paper like this, if the managers meant to keep the drawings a secret, and have all the tickets left upon their hands. I can see no one that could possibly be benefited by advertising in their blundering collection, except the book-keeper and themselves. There is something in it immoral as well as impolitic; as, while it could scarcely ever be seen by any person, who had money to spare, it might possibly tempt now and then a poor wretch of Irishtown to venture his week's wages in a ticket, while his wife and children might be starving in rags.

THURSDAY, 29th JUNE.

O'Careys and the Learned Pig.—When an account of this "*scientific animal*" first appeared in this Gazette, it was reported that the O'Careys were about to engage him as their editor, judging him to be extremely well calculated to aid them in misleading the "*swinish multitude*;" but it would seem, that, after passing the evening together over a bucket of strong wash, they discovered that the grunting democrat was not half so much a hog as themselves.

M'Clenachan and Thomas.—On the day that the news arrived of the order of Council respecting the Bank of England, Mr. Blair M'Clenachan, the very *respectable* representative of the county of Philadelphia, who was exulting at the event, was asked by a gentleman of the bar, what it was that pleased him so much? "Why," replied *Mac*, "have you not heard of it? The Bank of England has stopped payment. The damned rascals are broke now; they have got their deserts at last."—"Oh, fie, Mr. M'Clenachan," replied the gentleman, "you should not call them rascals. There's no rascality in merely *breaking*, you know, if they give all up, and don't *make over their property to cheat their creditors* *."

French Fraternity.—Tuesday arrived here the brig Dove, Captain Benjamin Wyatt, twenty-nine days from Guadaloupe. Captain Wyatt relates the fol-

* It may not be amiss to observe, that this "*home stroke*," as it was called, was attributed to *Joe Thomas*! If Blair could meet with his antagonist now (1799), he might certainly return the blow. *Thomas* must be allowed to have surpassed *Blair*; but, perhaps, it would be very difficult to find another such a pair in the whole universe.

lowing: Had some conversation with the supercargo of a schooner belonging to Virginia, who informed that he was taken bound to Guadaloupe: the captain and lieutenant of the privateer which took him, came on board and presented two pistols to his breast, and said, "*That if he did not swear that he was bound to an English port, they would shoot him on the spot.*" In order to save his life, he was obliged to comply; in consequence of which the vessel and cargo were condemned*.

Munroe.—On Tuesday evening last arrived in this city the celebrated *Citizen Munroe*, late Minister of the United States at the Court of Barras and company†.

FRIDAY, 10th JUNE.

Venice and Buonaparte.—Buonaparte, to the Doge of Venice.—Head-quarters, Judenberg, 20th Germinal (April).

In all the Venetian territories in Terra Firma, the subjects of your Government are under arms, and the rallying cry is, "Death to the French!"

The number of the soldiers of the army of Italy, who have been their victims, amount already to seve-

* French fraternity, like all other good things, is grown indifferent to us, from being overloaded with it; it is humbly hoped, however, that this trait will, from its *singularity*, be an agreeable treat.

† It is confidently reported, that a certain *Ex-minister* has speculated largely in the *confiscated property*, now so plenty in our sister republic. Such traffic, we are much inclined to think, cannot tend to strengthen an attachment to the interests of his *own country*; an attachment which was never thought to be very strong. While the gentleman is enjoying by anticipation the variety of pleasures that attend him on his feudal domains, it may not be amiss to remind him of a maxim which has been fully sanctioned by very recent experience, that *what is got over the devil's back goes under his belly.*

ral hundreds. In vain you affect to disavow those movements which have been provoked by yourself. After I have carried our arms into the heart of Germany, do you believe that I shall not be able to make the first nation in the world be respected? Do you imagine that the legion of Italy will suffer tamely the massacres which you excite? The blood of our brothers in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a French battalion charged with the mission, which does not feel three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Senate of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the generosity with which we have behaved towards it. I send you my propositions by one of my aid-de-camps and chief of brigade—War or peace. If you do not immediately take every measure necessary for dispersing the banditti, if you do not, as soon as possible, arrest and put into my hands the authors of the murders which have been committed, war is declared. The Turks are not on your frontiers; no enemies menace you; yet you have sanctioned the premeditated design of the priests, to form insurrection, and to direct it against the French. I give you twenty-four hours to disperse them. The days of Charles VII. are past. If, notwithstanding the good-will the French Government has shown towards you, I shall be compelled to attack you, do not imagine that the French soldiers, like the brigands you have armed, will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of Terra Firma. No! I shall protect them! and they will bless the cause which has obliged the French army to deliver them from your tyrannical government.

BUONAPARTE.

Venice.—Paris, May 3. A courier arrived last night to the Directory from Buonaparte, who brought letters to the deputies from Milan. The following are their contents:

The

The French troops commanded by General Gu-rioux, joined to the Lombard legions under General Lehoz, marched against Verona.

They found before the town the inhabitants armed, and the Slavonian troops intrenched with cannon. The French General summoned the commander to disarm and dismiss them. The commandant answered, that he could not at that moment, as the people were irritated against the French. Immediately the peasants attacked the Lombards, and were repulsed. The French General ordered an attack to be made. The resistance was obstinate, but the Venetian satellites of oligarchy were at length routed. They fled to a large house which they had established for their magazines, and where they had their ammunition and provisions. From this they kept up a dreadful fire, but a shell fell amongst them, set fire to their powder, and all blew up: four or five hundred Slavonians, with their commandant, were the victims to the explosion!

At the departure of the courier, the city had been fired, and the fire was spreading on all sides *!!

Gallatin

* The treatment that the Republic of Venice has received from the savage despots of France, though unjust and cruel in the greatest degree, is what every *passive neutral state* has suffered, and as good as they had any right to expect. Neutrality towards these enemies of the human race was a crime against society; as it implied a tacit approbation of their atrocious politics, as well as a selfish indifference to the sufferings of others. But a tame submission on the part of every government to their insults and aggressions, through the whole course of this diabolical war, has been the sure means to provoke their increase and continuance, until even the voice of complaint itself has been smothered. Venice resisted all the applications of the combined powers to take a part in the war against France, even after the plundering and murdering sans-culottes had entered Italy. She hugged herself up in her neutrality, and flattered herself with her imagined safety on the borders of the Adriatic. What has all this availed her? The

Gallatin and Swanwick in Congress.—The crafty foreigner, who, to complete our degradation, leads the majority of a certain great assembly, still betrays the same depravity that governed him in his former attempts to impede the operations of *Government*. I presume he thinks that what failed of success in Braddock's field, may be executed more effectually in Philadelphia; as to leave the country exposed to the depredations of a daring and unprincipled enemy may be more fatal, as it is doubtless quite as criminal, as to raise the standard of rebellion in its bosom.

Through the whole of the present session of Congress has this quibbler opposed every effort made by the friends of Government, to protect our commerce, or to repel the insults of the base and perfidious Gaul. But as every artful scoundrel, so has this Monsieur sometimes committed himself: his cowardice has sometimes betrayed him into a vote, repugnant to his well-known principles, and produced a necessity of checking it, as soon as possible, by another directly hostile. Thus has the wretch often been at war with himself.

When Congress resolved, after a disgraceful opposition, to fortify the ports and harbours of the United States, his name appeared among the Yeas; but on the next day he refused his assent to provide artillery, to garrison these fortifications after they shall be completed. He has confessed in the fullest and most unequivocal terms, that the commerce of the

Gallic hordes have invaded her territories, seized on her fortifications; burned her towns; laid the whole state under contribution; murdered her citizens; and, to complete their iniquity, are going to partition her territories to indemnify the Emperor.

Such will be your fate, you torpid Americans! as sure as you have a country to lose, happiness and independence to be broken in upon, so sure the savages of Gaul will be with you, as soon as their arms are disengaged from the wars of Europe.

United

United States has suffered greatly by the depredations of its enemies, and that it is by far their most vulnerable part; yet he has strained every nerve, exerted all the resources of sophistry and quibble, to oppose the only kind of armament calculated to defend it. In short, this Genevese patriot, though driven out of his course sometimes by timidity, has never lost sight of his object; that of *stopping the wheels of Government*, and truckling, like his poor trodden-down countrymen, to the haughty mandates of France: but through this session of Congress he has trimmed, and quibbled, and contradicted himself so often, that the man I once hated for his *political sins*, I now begin to despise also for his imbecility.

How long shall Pennsylvania be disgraced, and lose her station in the scale of the United States, by such a suspicious outlandish representative; by a man, who, in her better days, that are past, would hardly have been trusted with the office of a constable, or a sheriff's understrapper? I remember the time, and I remember it with regret, when the sound of his uncouth gibberish alone, if there had been nothing else against him, would have been a sure prevention to his ever rising to confidence. In those days Pennsylvania had too much virtue and good sense, to intrust the public welfare to the keeping of an *old privateersman*, or to vote a *French wolf the guardian of her sheep* *.

SATURDAY,

* It has often been said, and I think it cannot be too often repeated, that the French influence is continually gaining ground in this country, and that the American character as an independent people will be soon entirely lost. If there is any person who has arrived at the years of discretion, and can doubt the truth of this observation, I would not wish him to have fairer proof of the existence of this influence than what was exhibited on Thursday in the House of Representatives of the United States. A proposition for arming for the purpose of protecting the commerce of the
United

SATURDAY, 1st JULY.

Munroe.—Monsieur Munroe, as was reported, did actually arrive in this city on Tuesday last, but having disobeyed the ordinances of the health-office, was, with his family, ordered to return down to the vessel the next day, there to remain until all on board had undergone the usual formalities of examination; which order he thought proper to comply with.

This must have been confoundedly grating to one who so lately had the honour of *speechifying in presence of the sultans of France*, seated on the throne of liberty, and surrounded with their hundred thousand slaves.

United States, being before the House, a gentleman, a representative of one of the first commercial cities, in the course of his opposition to the measure, made the following remarks: "We have sent an extraordinary embassy to France, to adjust our differences; and before we know the success of the negotiation, we are putting ourselves into a state of defence! What will the French Directory say to this? Will they not very properly ask, For what purpose is your Government arming? You came here to treat with us about peace, and are preparing for war at home. Will France approve of our arming? Will she not send your negotiators home again, to tell your Government to lay down your arms before you begin to treat with us? Can it be expected the Directory will treat with us when they see we are preparing for war, in case we do not succeed in our demands?" I believe there have never been, since the formation of our government, sentiments so humiliating and so degrading to our character as an independent people, expressed by any one of its greatest enemies. If the American people are reduced to such a state of vassalage and humble reliance on France, as to be afraid of putting themselves into a manly posture of defence, without the previous approbation of the Directory, I think it high time to throw aside the present expensive form of government, and to solicit Farmer Giles, and a few other Frenchmen, to do the business for us. This state of vassalage may well suit the ideas of an insurrection-breeder of Geneva, a desperate gambler or negro-driver of Virginia, a bankrupt *impotent* representative of Philadelphia, or a fraudulent Jerseyman; but can never accord with the feelings of a real American.

La Fayette and Co. released at the Intercession of Buonaparte.—A Paris paper of May 1, says, that Buonaparte, previous to the signing of the preliminaries of peace, demanded the release of *La Fayette*, *Bureau Puffy*, and *Latour Maubourg*; which demand, it would seem, was made in consequence of an order from the Directory.

Upon this article the Paris Editor observes: “It is not to be supposed that the hero of Italy, so distinguished by every noble and generous sentiment, would have neglected to break the chains of the *illustrious victims* of the vengeance and tyranny of the *English Government*: but it is pleasing to see the Directory themselves anticipating this act of *magnanimity* and *justice*. It is a glorious triumph of the spirit of moderation over the fury of party.”

A few facts relative to this *illustrious* victim and his *magnanimous* deliverers may not be amiss at the present moment. *La Fayette* was first impeached by *Jean de Brie*, whose name we have very lately seen among the leaders of the Council of old ones. The impeachment was supported by Brissot in the best speech that famous scoundrel ever made. The whole of the Brissotine faction (the faction that now rules) used the utmost of their endeavours to bring him to the block; and, no sooner had they dethroned the King, than they proscribed *La Fayette* by a decree which would dishonour savages. He was declared to be out of the protection of the law; it was enjoined on every citizen to shoot, or otherwise to destroy him if possible; every magistrate was ordered to cause search to be made for his wife and children, and to imprison them wherever found; and, that his infamy might be handed down to posterity, his house was ordered to be reduced to ashes; and a monument erected on the spot, bearing an inscription expressive of his crimes and of the just vengeance of the nation,

nation. And this man the wretches have now the impudence to call the *illustrious* victim; and the victim too of the *English* Government! The millions of murders they have committed at Nantz and other places, they will also lay to the charge of the English Government; nor have I the least doubt but we shall yet hear the English Government accused of cutting off Louis XVI. and his family.

It is something curious enough that the Directory should dispute with Buonaparte the honour of demanding La Fayette's release. Base hypocrites! They were every man of them amongst his most bitter enemies. It was *La Croix* that proposed to denounce him for corresponding with the King and Queen; *Carnot* obtained the decree for arresting him, and *Merlin* (our old flag friend) was one of the three deputies sent to the army to seize on the carcass of the "*illustrious* victim," and drag it to the bar of the Assembly. This is the "*just*" and "*magnanimous*" crew that now throws the blame of La Fayette's imprisonment on a government that never had him in its power, nor ever interfered at all respecting him.

This is the age of impudence and rascality. Truth is become falsehood, and falsehood truth. The atrocious, notorious lie contained in the above-quoted paragraph is published through this country as *an article of news*, entitled to the usual degree of credibility. The publishers are careful to make no comment that may tend to betray its falsehood. They stand, angler-like, watching its progress along the stream; and though they know they are fishing with a naked hook, they also know that in such numerous shoals there are always some gudgeons.

O'Careys and the Learned Pig.—SIR, Having observed that you have been a second time misinformed, or at least that you have a second time misinformed the public respecting the learned pig, I take the liberty

to address to you a "Statement of facts" respecting him; which statement, as it is in defence of an injured individual, you have, I trust, too much impartiality to refuse a place in your Gazette.

This Solomon of the swinish multitude received the first rudiments of his education in the patriotic town of Belfast, in the north of Ireland. The Democratic Club, and the many societies of United Irishmen in and about that town, so improved the talents of this Hibernian, and he and they became so assimilated, that he was admitted to their nocturnal meetings; where, though but quite a roaster, he soon rendered himself conspicuous as an orator in the cause of reformation.

As he arrived at maturity his views extended. He removed to the metropolis, where he found many disciples, among whom the O'Careys, now in this city, were looked upon as the greatest zealots. But, not possessing so much *solid* understanding as their learned apostle, some of them got a yoke round their swinish necks; others, to save their bacon, *turned king's evidence* against their own associates; one of whom was of the *medical tribe**, and had, like his learned fellow-citizen, arrived at a kind of *presidency among the swine*. The consequence finally has been, the family of the *great O's*, loyal and disloyal, king's evidences and democrats, sick and well, rotten and sound, have all transported themselves to this country, and principally to this poor unfortunate State, where there is no gallows, and where some of them have endeavoured to disseminate their hog's wash principles by tossing them up to the public in the form of a newspaper.

To return to the learned pig; whether it be owing to the character of the O'Careys, or to some other

* Doctor Drenan, against whom one *Philpot Carey* turned king's evidence.

cause, I know not ; but of this I can assure the public upon the word and honour of a gentleman, that since his arrival in America he has never had the least concern or acquaintance with them ; nor has he, as you have related, Mr. Porcupine, ever condescended to treat with them for the editorship to their Gazette.

CANDOUR.

Swanwick.—To JOHN SWANWICK.—Sir, Although it is a well-known fact that your actions through life have been governed by interest and ambition, and of course cannot create surprise in any one who is acquainted with you ; yet your conduct through the different stages of your political career, from the day on which you first mounted the rostrum in the State-house yard (preparatory to becoming a candidate for a seat in our State Legislature) to the present time, has been marked with so many circumstances of evil tendency towards Government, and so subversive of the good order and happiness enjoyed by every good citizen of the United States, that it is a duty incumbent on every man who wishes for a continuance of that blessing to expose the wickedness to which your measures would lead.

Impressed with this opinion, and from a sincere regard to the welfare of my fellow-citizens, I shall in this address lay before them some matters which have passed unnoticed in all that has hitherto been written on the subject ; for the present I shall confine myself to *two*. First, that a few years ago no man could have expressed more exalted opinions of Great Britain (your native country) than you did ; and then, according to the ideas you held out in all conversations regarding her, she was the *most generous* and the *most powerful* nation on earth—a nation with which the United States must, both from interest and policy, form the closest connexions. Secondly, the greatest enemy of France could not have

have represented that nation in a more contemptible point of view than you have done; it was a nation (to use your own words) on which America could place *no* dependance; her policy was always *dangerous to the world*; her merchants were men destitute of honour, and totally *ignorant of the true principles of commerce*; a nation, in short, with which our intercourse must for ever be very limited.

With such avowed sentiments and opinions of the two nations at the period mentioned, let me ask you, my sage politician, how you can reconcile them to those you now hold out to the world in your laboured speeches in and out of Congress. Is the British nation less generous, or is it less the interest of America to form a connexion with her at this day than it was when she was so much your boast? What new discovery of virtue have you made in the French people? Has their conduct in the course of this war, which they wage against heaven and earth, been such as to impress on your mind a more favourable opinion of them than that in which you formerly held them? or rather, my virtuous citizens, have you been so charmed by *Genet, Fauchet, and Adet*, in the nocturnal communications you have so frequently had with them, as to become a proselyte to the cause of France, and to advocate her atrocities towards the countries in Europe, and even her repeated injuries and insults to this country, which adopted you, and wherein you have received so many benefits? Finally, let me ask you, is your conduct the result of precious confessions to Father Fauchet, which, as *one* of his penitents, you have been in the habit of making to him? and has he by his gentle admonitions eased your tender conscience on the score of your sins in having been *once* attached to Old England, or *pretending to be so*, absolved you from it? But the truth is, my little Statesman, as I observed

observed before, you hold no opinion or sentiment either of countries or of men, that is not connected with your interest and ambition : to gratify them, you would sacrifice the world ; nay, not excepting that country of which you are now a partisan.

MONDAY, 3^d JULY.

Munroe.—On Saturday last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, was performed, in some tavern in this city, a most ludicrous farce, called "*The Welcome to Citizen Munroe.*" The principal characters were the Virginian Philosopher, Mrs. M'Kean's husband, and Monsieur Citizen Tazewell, of the ancient dominion, commonly called the *Land of Debts*.

An analysis of this performance will be attempted in my next; in the mean time let the Ex-minister and his welcoming crew grease themselves well over, for I promise them a roasting.

Paine's Age of Reason; Comments on it by a German Clergyman.—Citizen Paine, The papers have announced your arrival in America, and therefore my time is come to attack your Age of Reason. When encountered face to face, you may defend yourself if you think proper, and have no reason to complain of foul play. The treatment which I intend to give you shall accord with your deserts; that is, I shall consider you as a profane fool, and if you can offer anything in your vindication I am willing to hear it.

Text. It has been my intention for several years past to publish my thoughts on religion.

Comment. Your motives are pretty well known. You wrote the first part of the Age of Reason to save your ugly head from the guillotine, and the second part to procure a little something to eat.

Text.

Text. The circumstance that has now taken place in France has rendered a *work* of this kind *exceedingly necessary*; left in the general wreck of superstition, &c. we lose sight of *morality*, of *humanity*, and of the *theology* which is true.

Comment. You offer wonders of inconsistency for our digestion. We are to believe you on your word, that we infallible men of reason, having the Bible of creation (as you call it) daily before our noses, are, notwithstanding our omniscience, in imminent danger of losing sight even of morality, humanity, and theology. That a work, a written book on religion, is not only *necessary*, but even *exceedingly necessary*, for our preservation: that our Creator has not provided for such a work, but has abandoned mankind to the pernicious effects of seduction and immorality: that he is surpassed in benevolence by you; and that he left the fabrication of a work exceedingly necessary in a moral view, to the care of poor silly Tom Paine:—the deists may believe this article of your faith if they choose, but certainly I shall not believe it.

Text. When a man has so far corrupted and prostituted the chastity of his mind as to subscribe his professional belief to things he does not believe, he has prepared himself for the commission of every crime. He takes up the trade of a priest for the sake of gain, and, in order to qualify himself for that trade, he begins with perjury.

Comment. This is a gloomy, but it may be an exact delineation of your own heart. We are told by a certain Mr. Oldys that you have frequently been guilty of perjury; that you tried for the priesthood, and were rejected; that your itch of preaching was so great, that, for a time, you went screeching about as an itinerant preacher among the Methodists. This, probably, is the principal cause of your malevolency; you aimed at the priesthood, and could not obtain it. The grapes are sour, said the fox when he could not reach them.

From your disappointment, the acrimony which you manifest against the priests may be sufficiently explained. Now you argue in the manner of the thieves and the pickpockets, who surmise, from a consciousness of their own dishonesty, that all the world are dishonest. A whore will hardly believe that any woman is chaste; nor you, from a knowledge of your insincerity, that any priest is sincere. But the French priests have saved the honour of the clergy by a confutation of your calumnies with their blood. At the time that you wrote your book, at the time that you, pitiful wretch, denied the Lord who bought you, in order to save your life at the expense of your salvation; at that time, thousands of them suffered their throats to be cut for the sake of a good conscience. As they have done, the Christian priests of every country will do when the hour of trial shall come; and such actions as these cannot be obscured by the ravings of an apostate and a debauchee.

Text. As several of my colleagues, and others of my fellow-citizens of France, have given me the example of making their voluntary and individual profession of faith, I will also make mine.

Comment. You were a citizen of France then, though you denied it in your letter to General Washington. A liar ought to have a good memory. But as to the circumstance of your profession of faith, that is pleasant, as we shall enjoy the opportunity of observing the apish grimaces of a French Legislator saying his creed.

Text. I believe in one God, and no more.

Comment. What do you call the God that you believe in? Is it whisky, punch, or Madeira wine? It appears like rebellion against the majesty of reason to hear a sot talk of his believing in God. But, as the God described by the modern deists seems to be a deified

deified devil, in such a one you may possibly believe.

Text. I hope for happiness beyond this life.

Comment. Reason awards happiness only to the virtuous; and therefore your hope is ridiculous in the extreme. Certainly that heaven must be a proper hogsty where such swine as you will find admittance.

Text. I believe the equality of man.

Comment. If you have kept a negro wench for your concubine, your faith in this respect may be very natural.

Text. I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow-creatures happy.

Comment. Yes, in endeavouring to make your fellow-creatures happy; but the remark must not be forgotten, that the only fellow-creatures the majority of the modern deists seem to have, are the strumpety inhabitants of the common stews. As to your justice and mercy, your creditors, your wives, and the sentence which passed on the King of France, may witness to these. To hear you talk of justice and mercy is like hearing a whore preaching up the virtue of chastity.

Text. We cannot serve God in the manner we serve those who cannot do without such service.

Comment. We know it, Tom, we know it, that we cannot serve God in the manner we serve those who cannot do without such service. We cannot, for example, serve him with soups and ragouts; we cannot plaster his feet nor pull his teeth; but does it follow, that, because we cannot serve him in this manner, we cannot and shall not serve him in any manner? And such a blockhead as you, who will frame such objections as these, will undertake to write upon religion!

Text. The only idea we can have of serving God,

is that of contributing to the happiness of the living creation that God has made.

Comment. But what do you mean by happiness ? Is it the knowledge of God and of his will ? Is it confidence in God, rectitude of volition and action, peace of conscience, and a well-founded hope of future felicity ? You well know that such a happiness, and such a mode of contributing to the happiness of ourselves and of others, are very foreign from the purposes of deism. Indeed it is disgusting to hear a blood-hound, who, contrary to every principle of law and justice, pronounced the sentence of condemnation and banishment on an innocent King, speaking of contributing happiness and serving God. What sort of a Being must that God be who would number such wretches among his servants ?

Text. I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church I know of. My own mind is my own church.

Comment. It sounds like madness to hear a man talk of "believing in a creed:" a little more madness, and you will be a downright ass; for already you have one and the same faith with your horse on the common. Your horse does not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church. His own mind is his own church; and we wish you fortune to your horse faith.

Text. The Christian despises the choicest gift of God to man, the gift of reason; and having endeavoured to force upon himself the belief of a system against which reason revolts, he ungratefully calls it human reason, as if man could give reason to himself.

Comment. From the same principles you may argue

gue that your *posteriors* are not *human*, but something *divine*; and possibly in time the deists may deify their *backsides*. The backside, you know, is a choice gift of God to man, and a necessary part of the human body; likewise you know, that a man could not give the backside to himself; consequently, according to your logic, he ought not ungratefully to call it the *human backside*! Do you see that you are a blockhead and an ass?

After experiencing so many lies, sophisms, and prevarications, in order to demolish the Christian religion, you certainly ought to have offered something better in its stead. Where is the sense, in combating a religion, calculated to console the afflicted, to administer hope to the dying, and to regenerate the heart, when a better is not produced? Not all men are so infatuated, as to exchange their religion, for none, or for a worse. You may gull libertines and strumpets with that system of impiety, plagiarism, and nonsense, which you oppose to Christianity, but you will not gull men of understanding and virtue.

Text. Pure simple deism.

Comment. What is pure simple deism? Being an impostor, you imitate all other impostors in the use of vague and undefined words. Deism, with the great portion of the modern infidels, is only another word for demonism, and denotes a religion fitted for cut-throats, revolutionists, and rogues, and pretty generally received by people of this description. But should you, unexpectedly, mean that system of theology and ethics deducible by human reason from the phenomena of nature, and the actual constitution of things; then you ought to know that this is nothing new. It is the old theology professed by the Christians from the very commencement of Christianity, and being a part, cannot confront our
faith,

faith. Which deserves the greater degree of admiration, your ignorance, or your dishonesty?

Text. The true deist has but one deity.

Comment. And you ought to add, "they borrow this notion from the Bible." Were the deists put to the necessity of demonstrating the unity of God, from nature and reason, they would stand like a company of conies when the drum is a-beating! You had better try it, Tom, since your hand is in, and we will hear you repeat those whining ejaculations over again, which you made when proving that there is a God: "difficult, incomprehensibly difficult, difficult beyond description!" He that will undertake to demonstrate that doctrine, from the harmony and unity of the plan existing in nature (and this is the only philosophical argument that is worthy of nature), must necessarily possess an universal and accurate knowledge of nature; and then his demonstration will only amount to presumptive proof. Considering the difficulty of proving the unity of God from nature, it is plain beyond contradiction, that, without the light of revelation, the great mass of mankind would always remain immersed in the gulf of pantheism or idolatry, and such blockheads as you would not reclaim them.

Text. The religion of the deist consists in contemplating the power, wisdom, and benignity of the Deity in his works, and in endeavouring to imitate him in every thing moral, scientific, and mechanical.

Comment. Here again you act the plagiarist, decorating your system with plumes plucked from the body of the Bible. The Christians know that they ought to contemplate the perfection of the Deity, and to imitate him in a moral view; for such are the plain enjoinders of revelation. But rob them of this, and they will dispute the principle. Tell us,
philos-

philosophically, why we are to contemplate and, to imitate the Deity? Who has imposed such an obligation, and where is it expressed? And what are the consequences in case of compliance, or non-compliance? Prove those principles from nature and reason, and you have fixed yourself in a proper dilemma. If they are a portion of the law of reason (as I think they are), then they certainly are immutable and indispensable, and everlasting happiness depends upon their perfect observance, in case there is no redemption. So you must either deny the moral principle and its necessity, or admit that a redemption is necessary, as there exist thousands of men who have acted contrary to that principle, and are left without hope by your scheme. Do you observe how you wound your cause? The deist always acts inconsistently, and plays the fool, betraying his own system, except when he denies every moral obligation, and transforms mankind into a society of devils. And what do you mean by the requisition, that we are to imitate God in every thing scientific? In what sense may science be ascribed to the Omniscient? How in every thing mechanical? Wonderful the religion and the wisdom of the deists! We never knew before, that God Almighty is a mechanic, or that any of the phenomena of nature can be accounted for on the principles of mechanism. This grand discovery was, from the beginning of the world to this day, reserved for the superlative sagacity of red-nosed Tom, who possesses the impudence of opposing such deliriums to Christianity.

Text. The Almighty is the great mechanic of the creation; the first philosopher, and the original teacher of all science!!!

Comment. You have already dishonoured the Almighty with so many degrading appellations, that we shall not be surprised to hear you represent him as the great clock-maker, house-carpenter, taylor, and

shoemaker of the creation ; or to hear you describe him as a metaphysician, dissector, and frog-catcher ; or as a teacher of arithmetic, weaving, and fencing. But before you proceed in this raving career, we wish you may explain the phenomena of attraction, gravity, or muscular motion, upon the principles of mechanism ; the trial may happily cure you of your frenzy.

Text. If we consider the nature of our condition here, we might see there is no occasion for such a thing as a revealed religion.

Comment. Or rather a very great occasion, as the irreligious madmen, who now call God a philosopher and a mechanic, may after a while describe him as a bear or a wolf.

Text. What is it we want to know ?

Comment. The conditions of amendment and pardon, according to the law of reason (commonly called the law of nature, though improperly), and with infinite justice ; the original and the end of the natural and moral evils existing in this world ; the mode of perceptive knowledge and consciousness, after the death of the body. Here is fodder for your free-thinking.

Text. Does not the creation, the universe we behold, preach to us the existence of a mighty Power, that governs and regulates the whole ? and is not the evidence that this creation holds out to our senses, infinitely stronger than any thing we can read in a book ?

Comment. You are just as ignorant in philosophy as in religion, and only remarkable for your swagging ; else you would know, that the notion of a creation is purely an article of revealed faith, and not demonstrable by human reason. We may conceive a fabrication of the universe from pre-existent matter ; but we cannot form a conception of a creation that is a production of the universe, from nothing.

thing. Hence it is, that a great portion of mankind has ever remained ignorant of a creator and a creation. The Greeks dated the origin of the gods and of men from a chaos, and the Chinese are generally pantheists or polytheists. To believe heavenly beings superior to men, is a common notion with the heathen nations; but this notion is far short of the idea of a God existing as creator and ruler of the universe. So your work must be done over again; men must be informed of a creation, before they can conclude any thing from it; and for such an information the Bible was necessary. But to proceed: I believe the almighty power of God, but not on the strength of your representation. Almighty power and infinite power are certainly one and the same thing; and the universe does not preach, or evidence such a power, because the universe is not an infinite, but only a finite thing. Here is something, Tom, to try your force in philosophy. Shall we admit of a greater degree of power in the cause, than is sufficient to explain the effect? Our solar system, for example, is an object of vast, but not of infinite magnitude. Conceive to yourself an infinite number of such systems, standing in contiguity, what would they form?—only a single line of infinite length, but measurable in its diameter; and the great portion of infinite space would remain an empty void. Consequently it is truth, and demonstrable from algebra, that an infinite number of finite things, however great, will not constitute an infinity of magnitude; and that their production may require a great, but not an infinite power. The universe, therefore, not being infinite in magnitude, is not a full and adequate expression of the infinite power of God; and if creation and regulation are the only exertions of his power, then the great portion of that has ever lain dormant and unexerted. Christianity alone solves this difficulty, teaching the eternal emanation

emanation of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, as an adequate exertion of infinite power. When you again introduce a preaching universe, let it preach truth and reason, and don't pollute its tongue with the foolish fripperies of your deism.

Text. As for morality, the knowledge of it exists in every man's conscience.

Comment. Stomach, you may possibly mean, as your morality seems to have its seat in your stomach. Be honest for once, and confess to the truth, that you apostatized for the sake of your belly. Do you know what conscience is? The consciousness which every man possesses of his own notions respecting right and wrong, and of the relation which his actions bear to such notions. The knowledge of morality with you, then, is the consciousness of moral knowledge; or, in other words, to know morality is knowingly to know it. This foolish jingle on words you propose for a rule of action, according to which men are to conduct themselves! From this sample we may judge of your moral knowledge, and of the worth of your religion. Conscience is not a rule of conduct, because it accommodates itself to the opinions of men, and even to their errors. It permits the Chinese to expose his children, the Otaheitean to offer human sacrifices, the French Directory to pillage, burn, and massacre; and you, Tom, it permits to act the impostor, the liar, and disturber of mankind.

French Insolence. Merlin's Letter about the British Treaty.—From a French paper of the 6th of May. The Redacteur has published a letter from the Minister of Justice to the Consul-General of the United States of America, dated on the 23d April, in reply to a letter from the American Consul, who protested against the decree of confiscation pronounced by the Commercial Tribunal of Boulogne sur Mer, on the

the ground that they had neither letter of marque, nor certificate, from the United States.

The reply of our Minister is couched in negative terms, and concludes thus:

“Let your Government, returned to a sense of what is due to itself, and to its true friends, become just and *grateful*, and let it *break the incomprehensible treaty*, which on the 19th November, 1794, it concluded with our most implacable enemies, and then the French Republic will cease to take advantage of this treaty, which favours England, at its expense; and no appeals will then, I can assure you, be made to any tribunal against injustice,

(Signed)

“MERLIN.

“P. S. I think it my duty to inform you that the Executive Directory authorizes me to address a copy of this letter to the tribunals of the maritime departments *.”

WEDNESDAY, 5th JULY.

O'Careys.—The O'Careys, in their paper of the 3d instant, tell their readers something about an American *sans-culotte's* making the “white-livered” Peter Porcupine run away, &c. &c. It is useless to call this a lie; most people know it is; but, to cut the matter short, I am ready to permit, and I do hereby permit, the *sans-culotte* JAMES CAREY (who is to *settle all the accounts* of the partnership) to beat me with his fist, the first time he meets me; promising, in this public manner, not to prosecute him for so doing.

* There are many who will pretend to rejoice to-morrow (4th July), and would, nevertheless, be ready to crouch to these terms; but is it not very ridiculous for such men to get drunk, and spend their money, in celebrating American *Independence*?

I know I have stung this poor devil often, and that he thirsts for revenge. He has now an opportunity of gratifying it, without incurring the penalty of the law*.

Munroe's Welcome.—Citizen Munroe, late Minister of the United States at the court of the many-headed despot, arrived in this city on the 27th of June; but it being feared that he might bring a contagious distemper, he was remanded on board the vessel, where he remained till the 29th. This quarantine, if we consider the pestilential country from which he came, and the predisposed state of great numbers here, was much too short. He should have remained on board forty days at least; and if, during the time, it had pleased God to free him from all the pains and anxieties attendant on this life, it would have been a close to his embassy, which his conduct during it most assuredly merits, and which would have saved me the trouble of recording his WELCOME.

On Saturday, the 1st July, 1797, an entertainment, says Bache, was given to Monsieur Munroe; at which were present;

The Vice-president of the United States (Monsieur Jefferson).

The Speaker of the House of Representatives (Monsieur Dayton).

The Chief Justice of poor Pennsylvania (Monsieur McKean).

Monsieur Tazewell, a senator from Virginia.

* I have no other motive for preserving such an article as this, than that of recording the defiance, which I hurled in the teeth of these miscreant Careys. It has been my fortune to combat great numbers of renegade British and Irish, but I believe that the whole list does not furnish two more unprincipled and malignant villains than these.

Besides a great number of members of Congress, and a due proportion of the mob. The *convives* met at a large beer-house near the theatre, and the entertainment was opened by a speech, delivered to Munroe by Judge M'Kean, in the following words :

“ FELLOW-CITIZEN,

“ Upon your return from an arduous and interesting mission, your fellow-citizens who are now assembled, have requested an opportunity to present a cordial congratulation, and personally to renew the expression of their respect and attachment.

“ At the period of your appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of France, the situation of the United States had been rendered highly critical by the operation of the European war, upon the principles of their alliance with France, from which essential advantages had been derived in our revolutionary contest; and upon the principles of their neutrality, with which the peace and prosperity of our country were inseparably connected. It was, therefore, Sir, with great satisfaction we found, that, after a lapse of some time in search of a man worthy of the important commission of expressing the wishes of the United States for the happiness of our allies, and of drawing closer the bonds of amity, the President, knowing (as he himself observed) your fidelity, probity, and conduct, selected you from among the distinguished citizens of America, to execute so honourable an office. It is with great satisfaction, that, after *viewing all the evidence* of your diplomatic transactions, *we find*, that you have uniformly endeavoured to fulfil the objects of your mission; to render *your country and yourself agreeable to the Republic of France*, and to maintain, on all occasions, the interests and connexions of the two nations.

“ With

“ With the conscious rectitude which a mind like yours must feel, the machinations of the insidious, and the slanders of the profligate, can be of no avail ; but it becomes us, Sir, in the spirit of freemen, to declare, that we consider the character of every citizen, who is employed abroad in the service of his country, as a *sacred trust, committed to the guardianship of the Government*. If, indeed, he violates his public duty, it is incumbent upon the Government to expose his delinquency ; but if he deserves well of his country, it is equally *incumbent upon the Government to protect his honour from obloquy and reproach*.

“ Of you, Sir, we have heard nothing, for which an American *republican* ought to blush, from any source of information which a candid man ought to believe. Return, therefore, to the arms of your fellow-citizens, with an honest pride, as they receive you with an affectionate warmth ; and continue to deserve their confidence by the same means which acquired it—by an active support of the legitimate principles of our government, of liberty, and republicanism.

“ In behalf of the citizens present,

“ THOMAS M'KEAN *.”

Citizen

* I am not able to inform my readers whether the returned Monsieur did really jump into their arms, or not. By his not being suffocated, I should, however, imagine that he had too much prudence to yield to the Judge's invitation.

Mrs. M'Kean's husband seems, by this speech, to think that the Government ought to interfere, when an envoy to a foreign country is loaded with *obloquy and reproach*, because such a person's character is a “ sacred trust committed to the guardianship of the Government.” Very well : now then, Mr. Chief Justice, pray tell me why this never came into your head before. Were not you one of a committee who drew up a most slanderous remonstrance against Mr. Jay and the British treaty ? Were you not on the stage, or rather scaffold, (good God ! a Chief Judge upon a scaffold !) when

Citizen Munroe's Reply.—"Fellow-citizens, The pleasure I derive in returning to my native country, after the close of the difficult and important mission with which I have been honoured, is greatly heightened by the friendly and affectionate manner in which you receive me; and I beg leave to assure you that the sentiments of esteem and regard which you are pleased to express in my favour, are reciprocated for you, with equal sincerity and warmth on my part.

"When the character and objects of the war on the part of the coalesced powers, were considered, it was to be expected that its incidents would place the United States in a situation somewhat critical, and which could not otherwise than be increased by the ancient and subsisting regulations between those States and the several parties to the war. It was feared by many that it would be difficult to reconcile the obligations we owed to France, as the an-

when the *honest* Blair M'Clenachan proposed to *kick that treaty to hell*; when Mr. Jay was termed "the *associate* of Grenville," and when the poor deluded populace were clearly given to understand that he was a traitor?—You were in Philadelphia when a picture was dragged through the streets, representing this Envoy in the act of receiving British guineas for the sale of his country, and yet you never told the world, either from the bench or from a beer-house, that it was "incumbent upon the Government to protect *his* honour from obloquy and reproach." That protection, it would seem, is due to no one but him who has uniformly endeavoured "to render himself and his country *agreeable to France*."

In general, this speech seems intended as a compliment to Monsieur Munroe, but there is one passage of it that looks two ways at once; I mean that where the Speaker says: "reviewing all the *evidence* of your diplomatic transactions," &c. &c.—Whether Mr. M'Kean had taken a morning's dram, whether his mind was set a-wandering by the looks of the late worthy Minister, or by some evil genius, I know not; but I am certain, that if I were to enter a room, and hear a *Judge* talking to a man about reviewing the *evidence* of his transactions, I should think he was addressing some thief, or traitor.

cient and deserving ally of the United States, with that system of neutrality, it was in other respects so greatly their interest and inclination to preserve. With reason, therefore, was the task which devolved upon any representative of these States deemed a difficult one, since it became his duty to conciliate the wishes of France with that system his country was disposed to pursue.

“ In accepting this trust, a trust I never solicited, and which I accepted with diffidence, I did it with a view to promote these objects, so important to the welfare of my own country.

“ My whole mission, therefore, was employed in a continual effort to promote harmony between the two republics, and which I did with fervent zeal, because, by so doing, I promoted an object which was near my heart: nor did I pursue this policy upon my arrival in France from the impulse of my own heart only. The basis of my communications to the Government, and of my general conduct there, in those respects, was laid by our Administration, under whose orders I acted, and by whose instructions I was guided.

“ That I have done my duty, to the best of my abilities, in the place to which I was called by the Administration, and where, I am happy to hear, I was followed with the good opinion of so many of my countrymen, is a truth which yields me a consolation that nothing can deprive me of. I am happy too to find, upon a review of my conduct, by *such documents as have been laid before you*, that it obtains your entire approbation. Well satisfied I am that a more thorough knowledge of my conduct, through the whole of my service, than *you now possess*, will tend to confirm the favourable impression you have already imbibed.

“ Accept, fellow-citizens, my thanks for your friendly

friendly attention to me on the present occasion, and of my best wishes for your individual happiness.

“ JAMES MUNROE *.”

TOASTS.—1. The United States.

2. The Republic of France.

3. Perpetual peace and friendship between the sister republics of America and France.

4. The Republic of Batavia.

5. The Republic of Lombardy.

6. Representative government and republicanism to all nations.

7. The universal interests of agriculture.

8. The universal freedom of commerce.

9. The universal advancement of arts and sciences.

10. The people and the government.

11. Peace and liberty to all the world.

VOLUNTEERS—(After the Vice-president had retired)—*The man of the people*, Thomas Jefferson.

(Mr. Dayton having retired)—The Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(Mr. Munroe having retired)—James Munroe.

(The Chief Justice having retired)—Our President, Thomas M'Kean.

Buonaparte, more glorious as a peace-maker than as a conqueror.

(By Mr. Lyon)—Perseverance and success to the *United Irishmen*.

* Who would not imagine, upon reading this, without any previous intimation respecting the parties, that the Ex-minister was speaking to the Executive and Senate? “ I am *happy* to find, “ upon a review of my conduct, by *such documents* as have been “ laid before you, that it obtains *your approbation!*”—And then he hints that they are about to receive fuller accounts of his worthiness: other *documents*. If a recalled Envoy were addressing the *Government*, this language would be proper; but Mons. Munroe's reply, considering the circumstances under which it was delivered, is, to say no worse of it, a confirmation of what his speech to Barras and Co. gave us good reason to suspect.

May Americans return from the commercial spirit of 1795 to the patriotic spirit of 1775.

(By Mr. Freeman of Massachusetts)—Perpetual union to the American Republic; and disappointment to the hopes of the anti-federalists, who entertain, or dare even whisper, a sentiment unfavourable to it.

Farmer Giles of Virginia.

Those heroes who fell in defence of American liberty.

May the British Administration hang together in spite of Opposition.

May the aristocrats turn Christians, and work out their salvation by fear and trembling.

(By General Collot)—Those who have fought for liberty since April 18th, 1775.

The memory of Benjamin Franklin *.

THURSDAY,

* The volunteer toasts are the only ones worth noticing.—Jefferson is called the *man of the people*, and so is the *honest* Charles Fox.—Master Dayton, the *sequestrator*, has now fully discovered himself. This festival has settled his character, and characterized his politics for ever.—I have no objection to their toasting Judge McKean; but the unmannerly brutes might have added his *lady*.—Mr. Lyon's toast: "Success to the *United Irishmen*," leads one to wish him amongst them; nor does this by any means prevent our wishing them the necklace that they so richly deserve.—Mr. Freeman of Massachusetts is soft-brained, but that he cannot help: his toast is the stupidest sentence that ever dropped from drunken lips.—General Collot's toast is a little singular: "*Those who have fought for liberty since 28th April, 1775.*"—All those who have fought for liberty *before* that time may go to the devil for what the General cares, because, till then, these simpletons were not fighting for France. Since 1775, every gun that has been fired, in what is called the cause of liberty, has conduced to the influence, the power, and the tyranny of the French. This they know well; and it is in this light, and no other, that a Frenchman looks upon the American revolution as an event worthy of celebration. General Collot commanded at Guadaloupe when that island was taken by the English; and, alas! he chose being sent here instead of to France. Whether *he fought* much in the cause of liberty I know not; but this I know, and it is well worthy of observation, that

THURSDAY, 6th JULY.

Dayton.—To the Editor of Porcupine's Gazette. Sir, I have not the least doubt but every influence has been used by Mr. Dayton, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to suppress that cowardly passage, in a speech made by him, replying to the address of the President, relative to the spoliations of France, and the conduct to be observed towards that republic, on the part of the United States: and I have the more reason for the supposition, as the general tenour of that speech was given in several papers, omitting only the following part, to which I allude: "*For my part, I am free to confess, that I would give up every thing short of the independence of America, rather than risk a rupture with France!!*" This passage, Sir, is carefully suppressed. If such suppression proceeded from a sense of its impropriety, or from a thorough conviction that it was wrong, then I would be the last to tear the bandage from the wound. No; the uniform tenour of Mr. Dayton's conduct breathes, if not the influence of French gold, at least a close adherence to French politics; politics which, at the present hour, can only be considered as derogatory to the honour, to the interest, to the independence of America; and fully exemplified in the above quoted passage, which his constituents will, doubtless, at a proper time, remember and reward.

Can any men who really love their country, hesitate to spurn such sentiments as the Speaker lately breathed? I should denounce them if they could. Awake, sons of Columbia! convince the world the

that he is the very identical French General *who has been reconnoitring our western countries!* This must be a very proper person for our recalled Minister to submit his "*documents*" to; and his "*approbation*," ought certainly to make him very happy!

spirit is not fled which was formerly the boast of this then happy country. Call not, by pusillanimity, a sigh from the shades of Warren, of Montgomery, and of those heroes who died martyrs in the cause of freedom. Could they rise from the tomb, they would doubtless abhor the wretch who, for private advantage or insatiable revenge, might wish to barter our glorious independence, and throw beneath the iron rod of the tyrannic oppression of France, that dear country, which to preserve from the sway of Britain, they early lost their lives *.

The warm partisans (and it is lamentable to think there should be any partisans in favour of our political Janus) may possibly attempt to apologize, and assert that Mr. Dayton's *delicacy* wished not to offend France and Spain by any language that might be ungrateful to *their tender sensibility*! Let me ask, whether such delicacy operated when war with Great Britain was apprehended? If it did not, in reply we may suppose, the Government of that country understood not the *beat* of the gentleman's pulse, had not thought of applying the proper emollient, or sought to divert his mania by the all-powerful dust of gold. Then, his delicacy stood not in the way: he could *bawl*, and talk of wrongs, which no one understood, and risk all that was valuable to the United States, to be dubbed the patriot—the Quixote of the day. Thus Mr. Dayton can, like the cold and wearied traveller, blow hot and cold with the same breath. Would to God, when next his duplicity is detected, the Americans would act the manly part, as did the cottager in the fable, and chase him for ever from their councils!

I feel, Sir, my spirit roused; I feel a resentment

* Methinks this *admirer* of Warren and Montgomery should be a little cautious how he condemns the conduct of the French rebels.

awakened in my bosom, which reason tells me ought not only to actuate mine, but every independent heart, not only for the past atrocities of this Sir Archy M'Sycophant, but for a late insult he has offered to Spain, after its being understood his delicacy would not offend the tender sensibility of that country, or of the French Republic. What then does this man? Some days ago he composed one of the silly few, that committed themselves to their country and posterity, by attending the civic feast given to Citizen Munroe after his return from an embassy to France, from whence it is well understood he was recalled, on a supposition of having betrayed the rights and interests of America. He joined the motley group of unthinking fools, in the many contemptible sentiments that were uttered and adopted; two from which number I shall select: the first particularly refers to my observation on the duplicity of Mr. Dayton's conduct, and was given in these express words:

"Representative government and republicanism to all nations."

Is not this a pointed insult to *one* of the nations, whose *tender sensibility* he has been so careful not to offend? But perhaps Mr. Dayton, although he rebuked Mr. Harper for the assertion, may not willingly allow Spain to be considered as an independent nation, but only to be viewed as a colony to France. Should that, however, not be his opinion, then the insult is still more offensive, since he has publicly wished monarchy in that country overthrown, and republicanism crammed down the throats of the Spaniards in spite of their teeth. But Mr. Dayton can only be consistent in inconsistency.

Having thus, Sir, pointed out the absurdity of our Machiavelian in politics, and held him up to public view, I shall conclude with a remark on the sentiment growled, rather than uttered, by the Wild

Beast of Vermont, which, if I recollect right, was comprised in these words :

“ *Perseverance and success to the United Irishmen.* ”

A toast which carries with it much of the same generous complexion as the other, and must convince every rational mind, by the hearty applause and concurrence given to the same, how very, very solicitous this Mr. Dayton is not to give offence to other nations. Let us, however, awake the feelings of every honest American, by a supposition that a society could possibly exist in Ireland, or in any civilized country, who would unite, either in sentiment or in act, to wish, or indirectly espouse the emancipation of six hundred thousand black slaves, scattered throughout the United States—how would such information be received? Good heavens! with what detestation would the horde capable of adopting such principles, be considered! Would it not be regarded as the signal for rapine and brutal ferocity—for the commencement of a scene more sanguinary than ever was practised by the fiercest savage, or even the blood-stained tyrants of France; and for lighting the firebrand of rebellion, which would, alas! too fatally hurl amongst the affrighted multitude the dagger of destruction? In such a case every tongue would be alive to reprobate the sentiment, and every heart would shudder at its dreadful consequences.

FRIDAY, 7th JULY.

Smith of Baltimore.—Extract of a letter from General Smith, dated Baltimore, 4th of July, 1797, to a Member of Congress. “ Captain Singer, twelve days from Port-de-Paix, arrived last night, says that Santhonax has ordered all captures and condemnation of American property to cease, in consequence,

“sequence, as was reported, of orders from France.
 “He adds, that two or three American vessels lately
 “taken were liberated in conformity. Captain Singer
 “is a very respectable man, and says, I may rely on
 “the truth of this account*.”

Spanish Magnanimity.—Extract of a letter from Captain Fairchild, of the ship *Levant*, of this port, dated Algeziras, May 10, 1797. “I was taken by a Spanish privateer and carried into Ceuta, where my ship was immediately condemned. The sentence was read to me in Spanish, and only a few words interpreted, such as “that I was from London, had an English jack on board, was a d——d Englishman,” &c. after which I was bid to get out of the room; and underwent a confinement of ten days; at length was sent here with my crew, in order to be exchanged at Gibraltar as Englishmen. I have, however, since got my liberty, and permission to go to Malaga, and have appealed to the Court of Madrid for my ship. There is great talk here of a war with America: the brig *Minerva*, Bray, of Philadelphia; and brig *Hawk*, Hall, of New-York, were also condemned at Ceuta. Ship *Polly*, Captain Shash, of Salem; brig *Dispatch*, Bram, of Philadelphia; and ship *Three Brothers*, Smith, Portland, are condemned at Malaga †.”

* I wonder how much General Smith received for giving currency to this lie. It is said the price of patriotism has fallen below par lately; owing, I suppose, to Fauchet's and Co. refusing to deal. General Smith's is said to be of a superior quality, but a good deal worn.

† Now let the patriotic partisans of France and Spain, with Monsieur Swanwick at their head, come forward and justify this conduct of the Spaniards, as they already have done that of the French. I make no doubt but they will, when a proper occasion presents itself; for it is little difference to them what they say or do, so that they receive their reward.

French Cruelty.—Various reports being in circulation respecting the unfortunate fate of Mrs. Laurence, passenger on board the bark Neptune, Captain O'Connor, from this port to Jamaica, taken by the French privateer Resource, Shaller, mounting two guns; we have taken pains to obtain the following, which is an extract from the Captain's letter to his owner in this city, dated at Cape François, in June.

“ The lady (Mrs. Laurence) I had passenger on board, killed herself eight days after they carried me into Port Plate—for what reason I cannot tell. The Captain of the privateer took every thing belonging to her, and would not let me look at any of her papers *.”

Swanwick's Toast.—At the civic festival given to Citizen Munroe, Mr. Swanwick is said to have given as his volunteer toast, “ *The rights of women.*” The little man does well to turn out as a volunteer, for certain I am, no lady will ever give a bounty for his service. Mr. Swanwick's toast puts me in mind of the pious old precept: “ he that can't sing psalms, let him pray.”

MONDAY, 10th JULY.

Summary of the extra Session of Congress.—This day closed the extraordinary session of the fifth Congress of the United States. This session was convened by the President for the special purpose of laying before the National Council dispatches lately received from General Pinckney, Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the French Republic; containing a detail of his conduct in France, from the time of his arrival, to that of his final rejection and dismissal, without a

* And yet you find that this awakens no indignation in the public! Wretched state of society!

hearing,

hearing, by the haughty republican cabinet. The session opened on the 15th of May, when the House of Representatives chose Jonathan Dayton for their Speaker by a great majority, a reward of his double-faced conduct during the last Congress.

Concerning the choosing of the Clerk certain circumstances have already been related. The federal party carried their point in ousting the old Clerk, *Beckley*, and filling his place with Mr. *Condie*, a man who was supposed to entertain principles more consonant to their own. Upon a more strict observation of the characters of the two men, it appears, however, that the victory was of a trifling nature; *Condie* is a poor time-serving creature; a mere office-hunter, like all his connexions. He is one of the numerous multitude who seem to look upon themselves as *the children of the Government*, and who will *be fed*, somehow or other, at public expense.

President's Speech.—TUESDAY, MAY 17, the President came to the House of Representatives, and delivered the following speech to both Houses, there assembled.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of
the House of Representatives,*

The personal inconvenience to the members of the Senate and to those of the House of Representatives, in leaving their families and private affairs, at this season of the year, are so obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occasion which has rendered the convention of Congress indispensable. It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquillity.

But we have still abundant cause for gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of national blessings, for general health and promising seasons, for domestic and
social

social happiness, for the rapid progress and ample acquisitions of industry, through our extensive territories; for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other states are desolated with foreign war, or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States present the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws; generally satisfied with the possession of their rights; neither envying the advantages, nor fearing the power of other nations; solicitous only for the maintenance of order and justice, and the preservation of liberty; increasing daily in their attachment to a system of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding ready and general obedience to laws flowing from reason, and resting on the only solid foundation, the affections of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us that some of these felicities may not be lasting; but if the tide of our prosperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude, and extricate ourselves from their consequences with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommending to their consideration such measures as appear to me to be expedient or necessary, according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the object of the present extraordinary session will be explained.

After the President of the United States received information that the French Government had expressed serious discontents at some proceedings of the Government of these States, said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new Minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions, and to give such candid explanations,

explanations, as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French Government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States.

For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens, a character, whose integrity, talents, experience, and services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French Republic, "being to maintain that good understanding, which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions; banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality, which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." And his instructions were to the same effect, "faithfully to represent the dispositions of the government and people of the United States; their disposition being one, to remove jealousies, and obviate complaints, by showing that they were groundless; to restore that mutual confidence which had been so unfortunately and injuriously impaired, and to explain the relative interests of both countries, and the real sentiments of his own."

A Minister thus speedily commissioned, it was expected would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics: the first step of the French Government corresponded with that expectation. A few days before his arrival at Paris, the French Minister of Foreign Relations informed the American Minister then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself, in taking leave, and by his successor preparatory to his reception.

These formalities they observed, and, on the 9th of December, presented officially, to the Minister of Foreign Relations; the one, a copy of his letter of recall, the other, a copy of his letter of credence.

These were laid before the Executive Directory.

Two days afterwards, the Minister of Foreign Relations informed the recalled American Minister, that the Executive Directory had determined not to receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American Government, and which the French Republic had a right to expect from it. The American Minister immediately endeavoured to ascertain, whether, by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French Republic; and verbal answers were given that such was the intention of the Directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer, but obtained none until the 9th of January, when receiving notice, in writing, to quit the territories of the Republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instructions from this Government. During his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the Minister of Police; but with becoming firmness, he insisted on the protection of the law of nations due to him as the known Minister of a foreign power. You will derive further information from his dispatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences; and as they can treat only by Ministers, the right of embassy is well known and established by the law and usage of nations. The refusal on the part of France to receive him until we have acceded to their demands, without discussion and without investigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French Government, it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late Minister of the United States on

his taking leave of the Executive Directory: the speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a Minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the Government of the United States: it evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the Government, to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests from those of their fellow-citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns; and thus to produce divisions, fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled, with a decision which shall convince France and the world, that we are not a degraded people; humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear, and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and America; and with so much circumstance of publicity and solemnity, that they cannot be disguised, and will not soon be forgotten: they have inflicted a wound in the American breast.

It is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed. It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you, and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations; and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation. If we have

have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them. If we have done injuries, we shall be willing, on conviction, to redress them. And equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France, and every other nation.

The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France being at present suspended, the Government has no means of obtaining official information from that country; nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the French Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d of March last, contravening, in part, the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources, of the nation. With a sea-coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to those objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders: to prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man who considers the injuries committed on our commerce and the insults offered to our citizens,
and

and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised.—As the sufferings of our mercantile and seafaring citizens cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection. To resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character, is an important duty of Government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to show, that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the Union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops, from one State to another, which were then practised. Our sea-coasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed, and more easily defended by a naval force, than any other. With all the materials our country abounds; in skill, our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. Hitherto, I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels, except on voyages to the East Indies, where general usage, and the danger from pirates, appear to render the permission proper: yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence,

while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our seafaring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to this voluntary provision for defence, by individual citizens, it appears to me necessary to equip the frigates, and provide other vessels of inferior force, to take under convoy such merchant-vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruisers whose depredations have been most injurious, have been built, and some of them partially equipped in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the same view I think it proper to mention that some of our citizens resident abroad, have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But, besides a protection of our commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe, and the well-known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people in defence of their country, happily diminish the probability of invasion; nevertheless, to guard against sudden and predatory incursions, the situation of some of our principal sea-ports demands your consideration; and as our country is vulnerable
in

in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a measure which even in a time of universal peace ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious.

Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves distinct and separate from it, if we can; yet, to effect this separation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary, in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparation against them. However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe, at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation, that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits. At the same time that measures might be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired, and the other nearly expiring, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

It is particularly your province to consider the state of the public finances, and to adopt such measures

respecting them, as exigencies shall be found to require. The preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expenses, will of course call for your serious attention. Although the imposition of new burdens cannot be, in itself, agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security, and future interests demand.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of
the House of Representatives,*

The present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of Government, to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my situation an exposition of the principles by which my administration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, or the world, what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the Government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt is not necessary: but to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honour, and aggressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will support the Government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether, by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own Government, they will forfeit the honourable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country; devoted the
best

best part of my life to obtain and support its independence; and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity, and perseverance of my fellow-citizens, on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate, or abandon a cause in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial to foreign nations; that those internal regulations which have been established by law for the preservation of peace, are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed; nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been so deliberately and uprightly established, or to surrender in any manner the rights of the Government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence on the firm and enlightened support of the National Legislature, and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens.

JOHN ADAMS *.

Chaplains.—WEDNESDAY, MAY 17. The House

* The President has made some little alteration in the *form* of address to the two Houses; an alteration evidently for the better. General Washington always began with "*Fellow-citizens* of the Senate and House of Representatives;" he afterwards called them "*Gentlemen* of the Senate, &c." This, in the very same speech, favoured too much of affectation; too much of that mob-courting policy which has ever distinguished the conduct of the old General. I should be very glad to be informed how the members of Congress had more of the *citizen* in them at the beginning than at the end of the speech, and how they had more of the *gentleman* of the end of it than at the beginning. In fact, this variation in the form of address during the same speech, was perfectly ridiculous; and Mr. Adams is entitled to some praise for having abolished it.

proceeded to the choice of a Chaplain, and the ballots of the members being collected, there appeared

For DR. GREEN,	60
DR. PRIESTLEY,	12*
MR. CARROL,	2
MR. HELMUTH,	1

Documents relative to Mr. Pinckney's Embassy to France.—THURSDAY, MAY 19. The Speaker informed the House that he had received a communication from the Department of State containing sundry documents referred to by the President in his speech to both Houses, numbered from 1 to 18, which was then read, and of which the following is a summary.

Document I. is Mr. Pinckney's letter to the Secretary of State, dated Paris, December 20, 1796, in which he writes, that after a fatiguing journey from Bourdeaux, owing to the dreadful state of the roads, he reached Paris the 5th of December. His first business was to communicate to Mr. Munroe his letters of recall. He then wrote to *Charles de la Croix*, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, requesting him to fix the time for receiving copies of Mr. Pinckney's letters of credence, and Mr. Munroe's letters of recall.

* The last Congress gave 32 votes for Dr. Priestley. The decrease in the number of his friends is a certain proof of an increase of religion, good sense, and decency in the House; but it reflects little honour on the country, that *one fifth* of the Representatives of it should dare openly to patronize a seditious Socinian. N. B. Dr. Green is a Presbyterian, Mr. Carrol a Roman Catholic, Mr. Helmuth a German Lutheran. The House of Representatives have, for many years past, if not always, chosen a Presbyterian Minister for their Chaplain; and the Senate have, as uniformly, chosen a Church of England Bishop. This seems to have been a mere matter of accommodation; and, to say the truth, the appointment of Chaplains seems even to have been an object of very little importance with most of the members; had it not been so we should have heard speeches enough upon the subject.

The

The Minister fixed the 9th December, between one and four o'clock P. M. to receive them. "He received us at first," says Mr. Pinckney in his dispatches, "with great stiffness; but afterwards, on conversing on some general subjects, he unbent and behaved with civility." He promised to communicate both letters to the Directory without delay; and desired *Major Rutledge* (Mr. Pinckney's secretary) to give him the names of baptism and the ages of Mr. Pinckney and his suite, that *cards of hospitality* might be obtained for them; which, as he observed, were necessary to enable them to reside in Paris unmolested. He promised to send the cards the next morning. On the 12th in the morning, Mr. Pinckney was informed, through the medium of a letter written by Mr. De la Croix to Mr. Munroe, that the "Directory would not acknowledge or receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American Government, and which the French Republic had a right to expect from it." Mr. Pinckney expected a notification of the same import, and waited for it until next morning; when he wrote to the Minister to inform him of Mr. Munroe's communication, and of his not having received cards of hospitality for himself and suite; desiring at the same time to know whether it was the "intention of the Directory that he should immediately quit the territories of the Republic, or whether he and his family might remain until he heard from his Government." This letter was sent by Major Rutledge, the secretary of the embassy, who reported that he delivered it to the Minister, and received from him a repetition of the declaration contained in the letter to Mr. Munroe, only substituting the word *federal* instead of the *American* Government; and "with respect to the second subject," the Minister said, "he could return no answer until it was laid before the Directory,"

tory," which he promised to take the first opportunity of doing*.

Document II. relates to the same subject, and proceeds to detail, that a Mr. *Giraudet*, who called himself "chief Secretary to the department of foreign affairs," waited on Mr. Pinckney, and said he came on the part of the Minister to inform Mr. P. of the laws of France relating to strangers; and added, that as the Directory had resolved not to receive him in his public character, or to give him permission to stay in Paris, "the general laws would operate" in this case as in all others; and that it was the fixed intention of the Directory that he should quit the territories of the Republic. Upon Mr. P.'s inquiring in what time it was expected he should set out, he said the Minister could not designate it, as the case lay within the department of the *Officer of the Police*. Mr. P. replied, that Mr. De la Croix was the proper organ through which information should come to him, as he knew the capacity in which he had been sent to France; whereas the Officer of the Police "might regard him as a mere stranger, and throw him into confinement"—that whether the Directory received him or not in his due character, he was entitled to the protection of the *law of nations*; that if they permitted him to stay until he could hear

* In this, as well as in all the other of Mr. Pinckney's letters, I perceive with great surprise, and not without some indignation, that the writer has not only used the *atheistical calendar*, but that, in many instances, he has omitted the use of the latter altogether. It has been asserted, and not without good reason, that Great Britain humbled herself before the throne of regicide; a writer of great eminence has said of the embassy of Lord Malmesbury, that it "exhibited the spectacle of a British Minister deputed to *crime* "from *cowardice*, received with insult, and dismissed with mockery, offering the *ruins* of the nation, and returning with its *"shame."* yet, Lord Malmesbury never condescended to disgrace his dispatches with the *Primaire*s and *Vendemiaire*s of the cut-throats of Paris; he bowed at the throne of regicide, but he did not kneel at that of atheism.

from his Government, he was under the safeguard of those laws, and if not, that he was entitled to *letters of safe conduct and passports* on his journey. The ground Mr. P. chose embarrassed the Directory: they wished him gone, but they did not choose to take so harsh a measure as to send him off peremptorily until they heard of the issue of the approaching election in the United States. If *one* public character was elected (as a member of the Council of Ancients asserted), which they hoped would take place, he was *devoted* to the interest of France, and would render the negotiation more easy.

Document III. The same subject is continued. On the 6th of January, 1797, Mr. Pinckney, by his secretary, sent a message to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in behalf of sundry American citizens who laboured under great hardships in France; none of whom were permitted to travel from one town to another, and some of them had been imprisoned for want of regular passports; which had used to be granted by the American Ambassador near the Republic, countersigned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and which were not suspended. To this complaint the Minister replied, that an *arreté* had been made on the subject, and that in future all petitions for passports on behalf of the American citizens should be addressed to the *Minister of the general Police*. On Major Rutledge's reviewing the subject of Mr. Pinckney's stay in Paris, which happened at the close of the conference, the Minister signified much *surprise* at his staying *so long*, adding, that he (the Minister) "had exercised much *condescendence* in being so long silent; in short, that he should be very sorry if a further stay should oblige him to give information to the Minister of the Police." In this conference with the brutal De la Croix, which lasted near an hour, Major Rutledge was not admitted to the honour of a seat."

Document IV. contains the first letter from General Pinckney after he left Paris, dated Amsterdam, February 18th, in which he writes, that the “day after the accounts were received of *Buonaparte’s* successes in Italy, Mr. De la Croix gave him, by direction of the Executive Directory, *official notice in writing* to quit the territories of the French Republic; which being all he had so long waited for, he immediately set out on his journey, and had arrived at Amsterdam*.

In the *Vth Document* Mr. P. informs the Secretary of State that the French Directory had made a requisition of the *Dutch* to join France in treating *neutral* vessels agreeably to the late French decrees; but, on the Dutch remonstrating against the measure, as ruinous to their commerce and finances, the requisition was suspended. In the same letter he informs of the infamous conduct of some Americans, who, under French colours, had equipped privateers to plunder the property of their fellow-citizens.

Document VI. is an extract of a letter from Major Mountflorenc, American Consul at Paris, in which two scoundrels, Cowell and Lewis, are particularly named as owners of privateers which had made recent prizes of American property; and that these men, with other traitorous Americans, were constantly importuning the French to issue several orders against American commerce.

Documents VII. and VIII. are on the same subject as the 6th; adding, that all American seamen, taken

* Thus was he driven from the hell of pillage and murder in spite of all his flatteries and supplications to the infernal deities. In his letter of “the 21st *Frimaire*” he takes, or rather he *makes* occasion to say: “though I am devoted to the liberty, prosperity, and independence of my own country, the freedom, happiness, and *perfect establishment of the FRENCH REPUBLIC have always been dear to me.*” This was rewarded, as every such act of meanness ought to be, with the contempt of those to whom it was addressed.

on board British vessels, although pressed into the service, were confined in prisons as prisoners of war, and treated with uncommon cruelty.

Document IX. is the well-known *valedictory* address of the Executive Directory to Mr. Munroe on his recall, which, as a remarkable specimen of republican hauteur and French gibberish, I will insert as follows :

“ Mr. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, by presenting to-day your letters of recall to the Executive Directory, you give to Europe a very strange spectacle.

“ France, rich in her liberty, surrounded by a train victorious, strong in the esteem of her allies, will not abase herself by calculating the consequences of the condescension of the American Government to the suggestions of her former tyrants; moreover, the French Republic hopes that the successors of Columbus, Raleigh, and Penn, always proud of their liberty, will never forget that they owe it to France. They will weigh, in their wisdom, the magnanimous benevolence of the French people with the crafty caresses of certain perfidious persons, who meditate bringing them back to their slavery. Assure the good American people, Sir, that, like them, we adore liberty; and that they will always have our esteem, and that they will find in the French people republican generosity, which knows how to grant peace, as it does to cause its sovereignty to be respected.

“ As to you, Mr. Minister Plenipotentiary, you have combated for principles, you have known the true interest of your country; you depart with our regret. In you we give up a Representative to America, and retain the remembrance of the Citizen whose personal qualities did honour to that title.”

Document X. contains a decree of the Executive Directory, annulling the treaty of commerce contracted February 1778, between France and the United States of America, and establishing a new code respecting the vessels of the latter, agreeably with the British treaty of 1794, in all the articles that concern neutral commerce; and adding other regulations respecting ships' papers, and American citizens taken on board British vessels, in which they are considered as pirates, although they had been impressed and detained by force.

Document XI. is a letter from *John Q. Adams, Esq. Minister resident near the Batavian Republic*; in which the Minister describes the subjection of that Government to the Republic of France; that it too complains of the British treaty, and requests the United States to make a common cause with her and France, and to join in the war against Great Britain.

Document XII. is an extract from *the Commission of Affairs of the Batavian National Assembly, to the Minister resident of the United States*, reminding the United States of the numerous services of the Dutch, during the American war, and calling on the United States to protect Dutch property on board American vessels from the capture of British cruisers, and intimating how glorious a resolve it would be, to make a *common cause* with the French Republic, and thereby to "*render to the hemispheres a peace for which humanity languishes.*"

Document XIII. is *John Q. Adams's answer to the Batavian Government*, declaring the invariable resolution of the United States, not to engage in the European war, and to observe all her treaties and her neutrality inviolably.

Documents XIV. and XV. are letters from *J. Q. Adams, and Rufus King, Minister Plenipotentiary in Great*

Great Britain, to the Secretary of State, containing an account of the recent demands that the French tyrants have made of *Denmark*, *Hamburg*, and *Bremen*, to suspend all commerce with England, with which haughty requisition none of those governments had chosen to comply.

Document XVI. is a letter from *Charles Martinez de Yrujo*, Minister of Spain, to the Secretary of State, dated *Philadelphia*, May 6, 1797; containing a repetition of the same complaints that had been made by the French and Batavian republics against the British treaty of amity and commerce; with an addition, on the part of Spain, of a remonstrance against that article of the treaty which assures to the English the free navigation of the river *Mississippi* *.

Document XVII. contains the *Secretary's answer to the Spanish Minister*, in which he clearly proves the futility of the Spanish complaints, and establishes the justice and propriety of the British

* It may not be amiss to inform my readers, that one of the reasons alleged by Spain for declaring war against Great Britain, was *her having granted certain privileges to the United States of America*. Thus, then, it is not *favours* granted to Great Britain alone, that forms the Spanish objections to the British treaty, but *favours* granted to the United States also. Both are to be quarrelled with, both menaced, and both *attacked* too, unless this mutually advantageous treaty can be set aside. There is no doubt but the Don has been led, or rather been driven, to prefer his complaint, by his new and *natural allies*, the French, and the object in so doing is not less evident; but they will be disappointed. A war with Spain is absolutely necessary to the salvation of this country, if a war with France takes place, or if the Spaniards have ceded *Louisiana* to France. They must both be driven into the Gulf of Mexico, or we shall never sleep in peace. Besides, a war with Spain would be so convenient! There is nothing but dry blows to be gotten from the penniless fans-culottes; but the wealth of Spanish South America would be a falve for every fore. It would be the cream of the war. Every thing seems to be working together for good; as Cromwell said, when the Scots were coming down upon him, "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." May we treat them as they deserve!

treaty in all its parts that have any relation to Spain—as well what concerns free ships making free goods as the extension of the list of contraband articles, and the free navigation of the Mississippi.

Document XVIII. contains *Mr. Pinckney's letter, dated Paris, Feb. 1*, wherein he notifies the Secretary of State of his intention to depart from Paris immediately.

It is impossible to transfuse into a summary like this, any idea of the insults which the Envoy was obliged to swallow, previous to his departure from Paris. Never was a slave more contemptuously treated by his master; never was humility rewarded with such provoking disdain. One would have thought, that the reading of these dispatches would rouse the spirit of the Congress; one would have expected an unanimous vote for the echo of the speech with which the dispatches were accompanied; but no spirit, no resentment, was discovered. The Senate did, indeed, something like echo the speech of the President; but, in the lower House (which is, in point of influence, the upper House), the speech underwent the most mortifying witticism.

*Answer of the Senate.—Saturday, 20th May.—*Sir, The Senate of the United States request you to accept their acknowledgments for the comprehensive and interesting detail you have given in your speech to both Houses of Congress, on the existing state of the Union.

While we regret the necessity of the present meeting of the Legislature, we wish to express our entire approbation of your conduct in convening it, on this momentous occasion.

The superintendence of our national faith, honour, and dignity, being, in a great measure, constitutionally deposited with the Executive, we observe, with singular satisfaction, the vigilance, firmness, and

and promptitude, exhibited by you, in the critical state of our public affairs, and from thence derive an evidence and pledge of the rectitude and integrity of your administration. And we are sensible it is an object of primary importance, that each branch of the government should adopt a language and system of conduct, which shall be cool, just, and dispassionate, but firm, explicit, and decided.

We are equally desirous, with you, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and are happy to be informed, that neither the honour nor interests of the United States forbid advances for securing those desirable objects, by amicable negotiation with the French Republic. This method of adjusting national differences is not only the most mild, but the most rational and humane; and, with governments disposed to be just, can seldom fail of success, when fairly, candidly, and sincerely used. If we have committed errors, and can be made sensible of them, we agree with you in opinion, that we ought to correct them, and compensate the injuries which may have been consequent thereon; and we trust the French Republic will be actuated by the same just and benevolent principles of national policy.

We do, therefore, most sincerely approve of your determination to promote and accelerate an accommodation of our existing differences with that Republic, by negotiation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of our nation. And you may rest assured of our most cordial co-operation, so far as it may become necessary in this pursuit.

Peace and harmony with all nations is our sincere wish: but such being the lot of humanity, that nations will not always reciprocate peaceable dispositions, it is our firm belief that effectual measures of defence will tend to inspire that national self-respect

respect and confidence at home, which is the unfailing source of respectability abroad, to check aggression and prevent war.

Whilst we are endeavouring to adjust our differences with the French Republic, by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, prove to us your vigilant care in recommending to our attention effectual measures of defence.

Those which you recommend, whether they relate to external defence, by permitting our citizens to arm, for the purpose of repelling aggressions on their commercial rights, and by providing sea convoys, or to internal defence, by increasing the establishment of artillery and cavalry, by forming a provisional army, by revising the militia laws, and fortifying more completely our ports and harbours, will meet our consideration, under the influence of the same just regard for the security, interest, and honour of our country, which dictated your recommendation.

Practices so unnatural and iniquitous, as those you state, of our citizens converting their property and personal exertions into the means of annoying our trade and injuring our fellow-citizens, deserve legal severity commensurate with their turpitude.

Although the Senate believe that the prosperity and happiness of our country does not depend on general and extensive political connexions with European nations, yet we never can lose sight of the propriety, as well as necessity, of enabling the Executive, by sufficient and liberal supplies, to maintain, and even extend, our foreign intercourse, as exigencies may require, reposing full confidence in the Executive, in whom the constitution has placed the powers of negotiation.

We learn with sincere concern, that attempts are
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in operation to alienate the affections of our fellow-citizens from their government. Attempts so wicked, wherever they exist, cannot fail to excite our utmost abhorrence. A government chosen by the people for their own safety and happiness, and calculated to secure both, cannot lose their affections, so long as its administration pursues the principles upon which it was erected. And your resolution to observe a conduct just and impartial to all nations, a sacred regard to our national engagements, and not to impair the rights of our government, contains principles which cannot fail to secure to your administration the support of the National Legislature, to render abortive every attempt to excite dangerous jealousies among us, and to convince the world that our government, and your administration of it, cannot be separated from the affectionate support of every good citizen. And the Senate cannot suffer the present occasion to pass, without thus publicly and solemnly expressing their attachment to the constitution and government of their country; and as they hold themselves responsible to their constituents, their consciences, and their God, it is their determination, by all their exertions, to repel every attempt to alienate the affections of the people from the government, so injurious to the honour, safety, and independence of the United States.

We are happy, since our sentiments on the subject are in perfect union with yours, in this public manner to declare, that we believe the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, and that those internal regulations which have been established for the preservation of peace, are in their nature proper, and have been fairly executed.

And we are equally happy in possessing an entire confidence in your abilities and exertions in your station,

station, to maintain untarnished the honour, preserve the peace, and support the independence of our country; to acquire and establish which, in connexion with your fellow-citizens, has been the virtuous effort of a part of your life.

To aid you in these honourable and arduous exertions, as it is our duty, so it shall be our faithful endeavour. And we flatter ourselves, Sir, that the proceedings of the present session of Congress will manifest to the world, that although the United States love peace, they will be independent; that they are sincere in their declarations to be just to the French and all other nations, and expect the same in return. If a sense of justice, a love of moderation and peace, shall influence their councils, which we sincerely hope, we shall have just grounds to expect peace and amity between the United States and all nations will be preserved.

But if we are so unfortunate as to experience injuries from any foreign powers, and the ordinary methods by which differences are amicably adjusted between nations shall be rejected, the *determination* “not to surrender in any manner the rights of the “government,” being so inseparably connected with the dignity, interest, and independence of our country, shall, by us, be steadily and inviolably supported.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
*Vice-president of the United States,
and President of the Senate.*

Answer (as first reported) of the Representatives.
Monday, May 23.—Sir, The interesting detail of those events which have rendered the convention of Congress at this time indispensable (communicated in your speech to both Houses) has excited in us the strongest emotions. Whilst we regret the occasion, we cannot omit to testify our approbation
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of the measure, and to pledge ourselves that no considerations of private inconvenience shall prevent, on our part, a faithful discharge of the duties to which we are called.

We have constantly hoped, that the nations of Europe, desolated by foreign wars, or convulsed by intestine divisions, would have left the United States to enjoy that peace and tranquillity, to which the impartial conduct of our Government has entitled us; and it is now, with extreme regret, we find the measures of the French Republic tending to endanger a situation so desirable and interesting to our country.

Upon this occasion, we feel it our duty to express, in the most explicit manner, the sensations which the present crisis has excited, and to assure you of our zealous co-operation in those measures which may appear necessary for our security or peace.

Although it is the first and most ardent wish of our hearts, that peace may be maintained with the French Republic, and with all the world; yet we can never surrender those rights which belong to us as a nation: and whilst we view with satisfaction, the wisdom, dignity, and moderation, which have marked the measures of the Supreme Executive of our country, in its attempts to remove, by candid explanations, the complaints and jealousies of France, we feel the full force of that indignity which has been offered our country in the rejection of its Minister. No attempts to wound our rights as a sovereign state will escape the notice of our constituents; they will be felt with indignation, and repelled with that decision which shall convince the world that we are not a degraded people, that we can never submit to the demands of a foreign power, without examination, and without discussion.

Knowing, as we do, the confidence reposed by the people of the United States in their Government,

we cannot hesitate in expressing our indignation at the sentiments disclosed by the President of the Executive Directory of France, in his speech to the President of the United States. Such sentiments serve to discover the imperfect knowledge which France possesses of the real opinions of your constituents. An attempt to separate the people of the United States from their Government, is an attempt to separate them from themselves; and although foreigners, who know not the genius of our country, may have conceived the project, and foreign emissaries may attempt the execution, yet the united efforts of our fellow-citizens will convince the world of its impracticability.

Happy would it have been, if the transactions disclosed in your communication had never taken place, or that they could have been concealed. Sensibly, however, as we feel the wound which has been inflicted, we think with you, that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States forbid the repetition of advances for preserving peace; and we are happy to learn, that fresh attempts at negotiation will be commenced: nor can we too strongly express our sincere desires that an accommodation may take place, on terms compatible with the rights, interest, and honour of our nation. Fully, however, impressed with the uncertainty of the result, we shall prepare to meet with fortitude any unfavourable events which may occur, and to extricate ourselves from the consequences with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power. Believing, with you, that the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, that the laws for the preservation of peace had been proper, and that they have been fairly executed, the representatives of the people do not hesitate to declare, that they will give their most cordial support to the execution

cution of principles so deliberately and uprightly established.

The many interesting subjects which are so strongly enforced by this momentous occasion, will receive every attention which their importance demands; and we trust, that by the decided and explicit conduct which will govern our deliberations, every insinuation will be repelled which is derogatory to the honour and independence of our country.

Permit us, in offering this address, to express our satisfaction at your promotion to the first office in the Government, and our entire confidence that the pre-eminent talents and patriotism which have placed you in this distinguished situation, will enable you to discharge its various duties with satisfaction to yourself, and advantage to our common country.

The answer being read, *Mr. Evans* (from Virginia) moved, that instead of "will be felt with *indignation*," should be inserted, "will be felt with *sensibility*," as a milder phrase; as he wished to avoid using expressions more harsh than were necessary*.

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* *Mr. Evans's* amendment has much more of the nonsensical in it, than any thing I remember to have heard of for some time. What is *sensibility*? It is *feeling*, as applied to the mind; so that the amendment in plain English says, that the insults of France will be felt with feeling; which is very much in the style of Ancient Pistol: "he *bears* with ears."

But the nonsense of the amendment, gross as it is, is its least fault. It is pusillanimous, whining, and calculated to disguise the real sentiments of the people. I will allow the gentleman to have meant, that the insults of the French to our Minister would be *heard of* with *sensibility*: this is sense, but it is far from expressing what ought to be expressed on the present occasion. We with propriety say, that we hear with sensibility of the displeasure of our friends. The lover receives the slightest favour from his mistress with a great deal of sensibility; but what should we think of a fellow who should talk thus upon receiving a slap upon

This amendment brought up another member from Virginia, who, with a heart not less full of *sensibility*, begged leave to substitute another amendment in room of that proposed by his colleague. The amendment the latter proposed was in the following words :

“ After the first section, insert,

“ Although we are actuated by the utmost solicitude for the maintenance of peace with the French Republic, and with all the world ; the rejection of our Minister, and the manner of dismissing him from the territories of France, have excited our warmest *sensibility* ; and, if followed by similar measures, and a refusal of all negotiation on the subject of our mutual complaints, will put an end to every friendly relation between the two countries ; but we flatter ourselves that the Government of France only intended to suspend the ordinary diplomatic intercourse, and to bring into operation those extraordinary agencies which are in common use between nations, and which are confined in their intention to the great causes of difference. We therefore receive, with the utmost satisfaction, your information, that a fresh attempt at negotiation will be instituted ; and we expect with confidence, that a mutual spirit of conciliation, and a disposition on the part of the United States to place France on the footing of other countries, by removing the unequalities which may have arisen in the operation of our respective treaties with them, will produce an accommodation compatible with the engagements, rights, duties, and honour of the United States.

“ We will consider the several subjects which

the cheek ? what should we think of Bache, for instance, if, through the channel of his Aurora, he were to tell the world, that Humphreys's fist produced in his mind the utmost sensibility ?

“ you have recommended to our consideration,
“ with the attention which their importance demands, and will zealously co-operate in those measures which shall appear necessary for our own security or peace.

“ Whatever differences of opinion may have existed amongst the people of the United States upon national subjects, we cannot believe that any serious expectation can be entertained of withdrawing the support of the people from their constitutional agents; and we should hope that the recollection of the miseries which she herself has suffered from a like interference, would prevent any such attempt by the Republic of France; but we explicitly declare for ourselves and our constituents, that such an attempt would meet our highest indignation, and we will repel every unjust demand on the United States by foreign countries, that we will ever consider the humiliation of the Government as the greatest personal disgrace.”

After some discourse as to the propriety of admitting this amendment, it was declared admissible by the Chairman, and was accordingly submitted to the Committee.

Mr. Nicholas then rose in support of his warmest sensibility. After premising that much would depend upon the answer about to be given, he said, that the situation in which we stood with respect to France, called for the most judicious proceeding, and that it was his wish to heal the breach by temperate measures. He expressed his feeling for the insult offered to Mr. Pinckney, which was heightened by the dignity he had borne it with, which had proved him a proper character for the embassy. He was sorry that France had refused to receive him, but did not think it right to suffer this first impression to influence the proceedings of the House.

Mr. Nicholas next proceeded to remark on the magnitude of the insult received, which did not appear to him so great as Mr. Pinckney seemed to think it ; he insisted that the Government of this country had done all in its power to accommodate the differences with France ; and that, though an insult had been offered to this country, which could not fail to produce irritation, yet that irritation should *stop short of the point* where it would *produce action*, as he was certain any steps taken which might hazard the peace of the country, would not conduce to the welfare of its citizens.

From sentiments like these, the gentleman made a very natural, easy, and graceful transition to *French influence*, of which he said he had heard frequent insinuations, but which he considered so groundless as to be only worthy of contempt. For his own part, he had no intercourse with the French, but of the *commonest kind*. He wished those who possessed proofs of improper conduct of this kind, would come forward and show them—show who are the traitors of whom so much is said. He was not afraid of the impressions any such charges brought against him might make *upon his constituents*, or where he was known ; indeed, he had not the arrogance to believe the charge was levelled against *him*, though he believed he was *frequently charged* with a too great attachment to the French cause.

By way of justification for his immoderate zeal in the cause of France, the eloquent gentleman went into a retrospective view of the situation of that republic, when he first came into Congress, and of the sentiments of “this part of the country” with respect to her fate. He represented France as the party attacked, and, with equal accuracy, talked about proofs of the intention of England to declare war against America, if France had been vanquished.

He next proceeded to the detail of sentiments respecting the anti-republican spirit that prevailed in this country, so exactly of a piece with those contained in the letter to Mazzei, attributed to Mr. Jefferson, that to repeat his words here would be useless. It was, he said, to counteract this disposition, that he opposed a contrary zeal, though he was not conscious of being over-zealous.

From this digression the orator returned to the subject before the Committee. He could not help taking notice, he said, of some circumstances in the correspondence of Mr. Pinckney, because he believed they would be made use of to influence the public mind. He meant the allusion which was made to the state of politics in this country. Besides Mr. Pinckney's own opinion, he speaks of a late emigrant returned to France, who described this country as of no greater consequence than Geneva or Genoa. At first, he said, he supposed this to be one of those things which tended the same way with all the rest; but he believed this was not the case; he knew only of one emigrant who had returned to France, who was of considerable consequence. That emigrant, however, was not the associate of the friends of France in this country, but of those who were most opposed to it: so that whatever opinion he might have formed of this country, they were not gathered from the friends of the French*.

After this, Mr. N. took another step on one side,

* *Talleyrand* is here alluded to; and it must be confessed, that Nicholas, for once, spoke the truth. Talleyrand was a spy; his business, therefore, was not with the democrats, who had no secrets which they withheld from the Directory, but with the federalists, from whom much valuable information might be, and undoubtedly was extracted. To the shame of the federalists be it spoken, the arch apostate found no difficulty in obtaining access to them. He visited all the most eminent amongst them, not excepting the officers of Government, and the President; so that Nicholas's reproach was extremely just.

to speak again of the French faction, and declared, that if there should be a majority in the House determined to carry a certain measure, though it should involve the nation in war, could he, because he was called a French patriot, give us his opinion and join in the vote? He could not. And if, by going into a measure of this kind, they produce division, they must not charge those who opposed their measures with it. Those who produced the division must answer it*.

Mr. William Smith followed *Nicholas*, and, in a very long and very able speech, defended the conduct of the American Government, proved that the British treaty was a mere pretext on the part of France, and concluded by a brief developement of the real views of the French Government, and their faction.

It was evident, he said, from the information from France, that an opinion had been industriously

* Having thus given a sample of logic worthy of the genius of the great *Ralpho* himself, the gentleman returned once more to the *Answer*, which, he said, went to decide the question of *peace or war* for this country. He thought it calculated to produce great mischief, and no possible good; insisted that it would tend to irritate; that threats from this country towards the French could not effect the object in view, and very patriotically and manfully asked, if any gentleman believed we were able to meet them in war? if not, said he, why make such declarations as should preclude farther negotiation? We are condemning the French Government because they *ask for redress*, without listening to negotiation; yet we say to them, We are right, you have no cause to complain; all the departments of our government acted right.

After disapproving of the President's assertion, *that our Government had uniformly acted right*, and that he would never depart from the principles acted upon, he proceeded to state the danger of sanctioning such a declaration, and very consistently added, that he was not for *humiliating measures*, and that no man was more willing to make *mean and improper concessions than himself!*

He concluded by pressing a fair and full examination of the subject before them, in order, as he said, to discover if any *injury or error* had been committed *on our part*, and if such was found to exist, he sincerely wished it to be corrected.

circulated

circulated there, that the government and people of this country were divided ; that the Executive was corrupt, and did not pursue the interests of the people ; and that they might, by perseverance, overturn the administration, and introduce a new order of things. Was not such an opinion as this, he asked, calculated to induce France to believe that she might make her own terms with us ? It was well known what France wished, and it was time to declare it plainly ; his opinion was, that she designed to ruin the commerce of Great Britain through us. This was evident. They talk of the British treaty ; but they suffered it to lie dormant for near a twelve-month, without complaining about it. Why were they silent till within a few weeks before the election of our President ? Why did they commit spoliations upon our commerce long before the British treaty was even dreamt of ? Indeed their first decree, directing spoliations of our property, and the capture of our provision-ships, was on the 9th of May, 1793, a month before the provision order of Great Britain, which was dated June 8, 1793 : and why have they, from that time to this, been committing spoliations on our commerce ? The British treaty was published in Paris, in August, 1795 : a year after, in July, 1796, they determine “ to treat us in the same way that we suffer other nations to treat us ; ” and this decree was not made known to our Government till the October following, a few weeks before the election of President.

But this was not all ; the French had pursued similar measures towards all the other neutral powers. Sweden, in consequence, had no Minister in their country, and was on the eve of a rupture. The intention of the French Government evidently was to compel all the neutral powers to aid her in destroying the commerce of Great Britain ; but he trusted this country had more spirit than to suffer herself

herself to be thus forced to give up her commerce with Great Britain : he trusted it would spurn any such idea.

There had been no period, since the revolution, which had so powerfully called on Americans for that fortitude and wisdom which they knew so well how to display on great and solemn emergencies. It was not his intention to offend any one by stating the question in too strong terms ; but he was persuaded, that when the present situation of our affairs with respect to France, was well understood, it would be found, that to acquiesce in her present demands was virtually and essentially to surrender our self-government and independence.

The independence of a nation, he observed, might be destroyed by various modes. Whether a preponderating influence was obtained in her councils by seduction, intrigue, or terror, or by a direct and open invasion of her territories, and consequent subjugation, was immaterial. Indeed, it would be safer for us if a foreign power were at once to attempt our subjugation by invasion ; for in that case there could be but one opinion among *Americans*, about a vigorous resistance* ; but the slow approaches to our subjection, by the subtle artifices of intrigue and subjection, were seldom discerned by the community at large, until their pestilential effects had taken such deep root as to be with difficulty extirpated. Was it saying too much to assert, that dictating to our Government, fomenting an insurrection in our bosom, influencing our most important election,

* It was, perhaps, very proper in Mr. Smith to make this assertion ; it was one of those pious frauds that statesmen are allowed to use for good purposes ; but that fact really was not true. I verily believe that there would not only have been *two* opinions, but that each opinion would have had a great number of advocates.

demanding a violation of our engagements, the repeal of our laws, the annulling the decrees of our courts of justice, were not merely interferences with our Government, but, in fact, attempts to usurp it? The complaints of France respecting the British treaty, were the pretext, but not the real cause of her aggressions. It was idle to wink out of sight the real causes; she wished (as he had before stated) to destroy the commerce of England, and the United States were to be the instrument of accomplishing it. The United States were to be coerced into such measures as would effect this great scheme. The same policy was pursued towards the Hanse Towns and Denmark. Had they made a British treaty? Were they answerable for the sins of ours? The review he had taken of the ground of controversy as to our treaty with England, must have removed every impression unfavourable to our Government, and evinced the unceasing efforts of France to acquire an improper ascendancy over our councils, and direct them to the purposes of her aggrandizement.

Mr. Smith concluded with requesting the Committee seriously to ponder on the consequence of agreeing to the amendment. It spoke the same feeble language as the address of the last session, the same timid reluctance to express our sense of injury, the same reliance on the negotiation alone; if this was all that the gentlemen on the other side proposed doing at this extraordinary session, the calling of Congress would prove the most humiliating, the most calamitous measure that had ever been adopted. Better indeed had the members remained at their homes, and there, in secret silence, mourned over the dishonour of their country, and smothered their resentments, than to be collected in a mass from all parts of the Union, to be thus publicly exhibited as fellow-witnesses of their own shame and the indignities offered their country, without the
power,

power, or even the courage, to resent them. But he could not believe it possible that the Committee would pursue a course so pregnant with humiliation ; and he confidently persuaded himself that as his country had always displayed her justice, so would all parts of the House unite on this occasion to convince the world that her fortitude and firmness were equal to her justice.

This debate on the answer to the speech, shocking as it may appear, lasted during eleven days, and was finally closed on the 1st of June. To insert such a debate as this at length is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be very far from adding to the value of this work. Some of the speeches indeed, those, for instance, of Messrs. William Smith, Bayard, Otis, and some others, would do honour to any selection ; but they contain, generally speaking, nothing more than what had been before said in the debates respecting *the British treaty*, which was still the burden of French complaint, and of opposition sophistry, misrepresentation, and clamour.

I shall not, therefore, lead the reader through volumes of repetition daily doled out in the House ; but shall bring before him such parts only of the debate as will enable him to form a correct idea of the conduct and the views of the contending parties. If he has not been accustomed to read the debates of Congress, he will be surprised at the variety of subjects dragged into this debate ; but if he has, he will look upon the incongruous jumble as a matter of course.

Livingston, Representative of New-York, spoke three hours. He did not address himself to the reason or the passions, but to the *patience* of his hearers, which he at last completely overcame. This young gentleman seems to be a kind of pharisee in politics, and

and to believe that patriotism consists in much speaking. When the merits of an orator are to be measured by the page or the column, I do not hesitate to affirm that Mr. Livingston will be counted the Cicero of his day.

His speech was an inflated repetition of the arguments of Mr. Nicholas. He introduced a number of long quotations as applicable to the subject as an extract from the life and adventures of Robinson Crusoe would have been. He must, however, be allowed the merit of having introduced one topic which others had but slightly touched upon; I mean the *impressment of American seamen by the British*. If any one wants to know how this could possibly be dragged into the debate, he must ask the *honourable* member himself; for I imagine that it would be impossible for any one else to guess at it even.

He asserted (and the assertion is a very good criterion of his candour and veracity) that *thousands* of American seamen had been impressed by the British. He was contradicted by Mr. Harper, who replied to several of his misstatements in a very spirited manner; and, with respect to the impressed seamen, observed, that, in contradiction to this, he could produce very good authority; being no less than that of the gentleman himself. He was appointed Chairman of the Committee to report on the subject; and, after *an inquiry of several months*, the result stood thus:

American seamen impressed,	42
Natives of Britain,	12
Foreigners,	26
Country unknown,	17
Total	97

This he thought a sufficient reply to the gentleman's statement *. Mr.

* It is not improper to observe here, that we have an account (sent by the captains of several vessels) of upwards of *nine hundred* American

Mr. Harper followed next, and, in a long, eloquent, and animated speech, exposed all the projects of France and her partisans. It is impossible to give an abridgment of this speech.

Giles came next. He set out with reprobating the practice of the House's answering the President's speech; or, at least, he wished the Committee of rules and orders to be directed to make one *standing answer* that would stand regularly for all speeches! This proposition of the gentleman from Virginia puts me in mind of a practice that has been long in use on negro plantations: they have, Sir, a *ready-made coffin*, into which every unhappy slave is put as soon as the breath is out of his body. He is then carried and tossed into a hole, and the *standing coffin* that is to stand regularly for all corpses, is returned back to its place till death calls it forth into use. This utensil of degraded mortality alternately contains the victims of the pleurisy, the fever, hunger, and the lash: it is the vehicle of the old and the young, of the long

American seamen being thrown into the French and Spanish prisons. Two hundred and seven have actually been *exchanged with the British as prisoners of war!* And yet Mr. Livingston has the boldness to say, that the impressment of American seamen is an aggression peculiar to England! Some of our seamen the French have whipped, others they have manacled, and there is every reason to believe that, ere now, some of them, sent from Porto Rico to the Cape, have been hanged, only for defending themselves in a most heroic manner against three times their strength. Mr. L. is very willing to put up with all this, I know; but I can assure him that the people of this country are not. He may revive the British depredations as often as he pleases by way of a counterpoise with those of France; but every one knows that Great Britain has released from French gaols (in exchange for French prisoners of war) *above three times the number of Americans that she ever impressed;* and that, instead of carrying on a piratical war against our commerce, she conveys our ships to protect them against *our allies*, whom, with all due submission, I presume, we may now begin to call the *common enemy*.

and

and the short, of the thick and the thin, of the fat and the lean. To be of such general and constant utility, its dimensions are obliged to be suited to the largest possible stature, and, of course, it does not fit once out of a thousand times. So, I am afraid, it would be with any standing answer to the speeches of the President that the gentleman and his friends could possibly frame.

Had the gentleman proposed to frame standing speeches and replies for every subject that comes before the House, the proposition should have had my most hearty assent. The wisdom of the rulers would then, I trust, protect us from speeches of three hours long, from quibbling more offensive than the chatter of the roguish jackdaw, and from repetition more irksome than the monotonous song of the cuckoo.

Mr. Giles thought proper (for what reason he best can tell) to preface his observations by an attempt to prove that there is not, nor ever was, a *French faction* in this country. He went back so far as the time of Genet, and insisted that he was universally reprobated. If Mr. Giles had said, that Genet was reprobated by every honest man and friend to the Government, he would have been nearly right; but he must have a very poor opinion of the memory of his hearers, to pretend that Genet had no party to justify his conduct. As long as the name of Dallas shall be remembered (which may be indeed but a little while, unless he changes sides), so long will it be recollected that Genet did not want a friend.

But I will not confine myself to a solitary instance. Several of the daily papers, Bache's in particular, openly defended the conduct of Genet, and as openly reprobated that of the Federal Government. Genet's great offence was committed in the latter part of the summer of 1793, and on the 6th February, 1794, "the *true republican*, the *injured patriot*, Citizen Genet,"

Genet," was toasted by very numerous companies in almost every seaport town from N. Hampshire to Georgia. At many of these republican festivals, military companies assisted, cannons were fired; and at Philadelphia the Governor of Pennsylvania himself was one of the *convives*. These, Mr. Giles, are no proofs of *universal reprobation*. I know well that his partisans dropped off from him when they found him recalled, and when they found the current of public opinion turning against him; but this proves the baseness of the French faction, without going a step towards disproving its existence.

In tracing down the history of this no-existing faction (as he wished it to be believed), it was something odd that he should entirely overlook Fauchet and his flour-merchants; "the *very peaceable* reunion in Braddock's field," and the "*few thousands of dollars*" with which France "*could have determined on a civil war or peace*"—all this Mr. Giles quite forgot; and he seems to have forgotten Citizen Blunderbuss's interference in the election, and the faction, or rather gang, by which he was supported. The gentleman is young, and young men are not apt to be so forgetful. Conscious of his own purity, I suppose he cannot bring himself to believe others corrupted. Taken up with the innocent labours of the field, on which he "*depends for subsistence*," he can hardly conceive that there is any such thing as treachery in the world.

However, though Mr. Giles's *innocence*, or something else, may prevent him from believing in the existence of this traitorous faction, the people at large not only believe in its existence, but plainly perceive its manœuvres and its object; and, I will add, whether it please Mr. Giles or not, that they are resolved to defeat it.

The French faction are now endeavouring by all means in the world to persuade the people that there
is

is no such thing; just as Fox and his crew wished to persuade the people of England that there were no plots against the Government, at the very moment that the democrats were shooting at the King.

The gentleman observed that he *depended on his farm for his subsistence*; that wheat was fallen, in consequence of the British treaty, from fourteen to seven shillings a bushel; and that he was afraid of a war with France, because its consequences would be a *closer connexion with Great Britain*.

I was never more surprised than when I heard that Mr. Giles depended upon his farm for subsistence, having always understood that he was a *lawyer*; and knowing besides, that he received about a thousand dollars annually for his attendance in Congress.

That wheat has fallen from fourteen to seven shillings a bushel is more than I know; but, if it be really so, how, in the name of all that is quibbling, can it be attributed to the British treaty? One cause of the fall of grain is, the return of plenty in Europe. At the time the treaty agitated the Union there was a famine, or nearly so, in several of the countries of Europe; that is no longer the case; the markets there as well as here have fallen one half. The other cause of the fall of produce is, the depredations of the French. I know Mr. G. will say (as indeed he did say) that these depredations originated in consequence of the British treaty, which may be true; but to bring this forward as a proof of the injustice or impolicy of that treaty, certainly required more brass than I thought any American was blessed with. Suppose any impudent scoundrel were to meet Mr. G. in the street, and knock him down for having made a speech three hours long; would not Mr. G. think it very strange if he were told it was his own fault; that he should not have made the speech, and all

would have been well with him? "Look, Sir," said a soldier to his Captain, "the drill sergeant has broken my head because I squinted."—"It is your own fault, my lad," replied the Captain, "you should not squint." Such exactly is the logic of Citizen Giles.

Besides, as to the fall of wheat and flour, whatever it may be with Mr. Giles, who depends on his farm for subsistence, I can assure him it is no calamity to the people in general; and that he could not have made a more unfortunate objection to the treaty. Citizens, you know that you long complained of the dearth of bread, at the same time that you execrated the British treaty. You must all remember this. Well, now take notice: your *adorer* Mr. Giles, a member of Congress, now complains of this very treaty, *because it has made bread cheap!!*

As to a *closer connexion with Britain*, the first consequence of a war with France, I must confess Mr. Giles was perfectly right. Such a connexion would be inevitable; will be dictated by policy, by nature, and by necessity; and, whatever Mr. Giles may think, it is most sincerely wished for by a vast majority of the people, even of those whose voice he declared he *adored*.

Mr. Coit said, he thought that part of the fifth paragraph which related to the Executive Directory would be less exceptionable, and equally convey their disapprobation of such sentiments if it were expressed more generally, and without any allusion to M. Barras. He proposed, therefore, to strike out from "at" in the fourth line of the fifth paragraph, to "United States" in the seventh line, and to insert "*any sentiments* tending to derogate from that confidence; such sentiments, *wherever* entertained, serve to evince an imperfect knowledge

“ knowledge of the real opinion of our constituents *.”

Mr. *Giles* seconded the motion ; but wished it to extend farther, as he did not know what was meant by the expression “ to separate them from themselves.”

Mr. *W. Smith* objected to the amendment of the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. *Coit*), because it was hypothetical. He wished, as the fact was clearly established, to have a direct reference to the speech of *Barras* in their indignation of the sentiments. As the matter had appeared of sufficient importance to find a place in the President’s speech, he thought it was also worthy of their notice. He insisted upon its being an attempt to divide the people of this country from their Government, by speaking insultingly of the latter, and flattering the former. He did not exactly know what was meant by the “ suggestion of the former tyrants,” but he supposed it meant *bribery*, and that by “ perfidious people,” General *Washington* was included.

Mr. *Nicholas* was in favour of the amendment. He denied that the suggestion could mean *bribery*, or that insidious persons could include *General Washington*. He hoped the gentleman would not thus make it his business to hunt up for insults. As to the expressions of Government and People, they were certainly one, and could not be divided. The American Government was the people of the United States ; and if the remainder of this offensive address was attended to, it would be seen that the French Go-

* The reader will perceive that this was a most base trick of *Coit*, to avoid all offence to the infernal despots. “ *The sentiments expressed by the French Directory,*” was thus changed for “ *any sentiments, wherever entertained !*”—The poor fallen creatures were afraid, not only to resent the insult, but even to point out the power, by whom they had been insulted.

vernment and the French people were used as synonymous terms. He allowed that speech alluded to was one of the most foolish things he had ever seen, but he could find no serious cause of offence in it.

Mr. W. Smith said, that by the Government the Executive only was meant. He was convinced of this from the manner in which he had seen the word used in the French Government paper, intitled the *Redacteur*.

Mr. Coit believed that whatever M. Barras had said, it was not worth their attention. We might defy France or Frenchmen to say worse of us than they said of themselves. He did not himself know how far the speech of Barras was an act of Government: for, said he, when we directed our Speaker to reprehend Randal and Whitney, the words he used upon the occasion were not an act of the House. On another occasion when the House were about to receive the French flag, they could not call what was said by the Speaker on that occasion, an act of the House.

Mr. Williams said, if Mr. Pinckney's letter was an authentic paper, the speech of Barras was likewise so; and if so, it was doubtless an indignity on Government. He did not think with the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Freeman) that it was "childish gasconade." He believed it was intended as an insult on the Government of this country.

Mr. Gordon said there could be no doubt of the authenticity of Barras's speech, since it stood upon the same ground as the rest of the documents. It was a flagrant insult upon Government, in his opinion, and warranted all that had been said upon it, as it was doubtless an attempt to separate the people from the Government.

Mr. Thatcher said the question was, whether or not any notice should be taken of the insulting speech of Barras. When, said he, the French flag was presented

presented to this House, we were told, we were not to stop to reason, but to express forthwith our feelings of affection; but now, when the most unexampled insult is offered to us, such as one man would not receive from another, we are not to notice it at all, lest it should offend the French Republic. He knew of only one reason for passing it over in silence, and that, it was true, had some weight with him. That Barras spoke as the organ of the French nation there could be no doubt; but he had his doubts *whether he knew himself what he said*. The speech had strong marks of inebriation, and he believed that, when he delivered it, he was either *drunk* or *mad*.

After a pretty long debate, the question was put on this base amendment of *Coit's*, and, disgraceful to relate! there appeared 49 for it and 49 against it, when the Chairman, *Dent* (as complete a Janus as *Dayton*) declared it carried in the affirmative.

One would have thought, that the answer was now tame enough; but so thought not *Mr. Dayton* (the Speaker), who moved to strike out the words, “ We are happy to learn that fresh attempts at negotiation will be commenced: nor can we too strongly express our sincere desire that an accommodation may take place, on terms compatible with the rights, interest, and honour of our nation.”—This tone was not sufficiently humble for *Mr. Dayton*, and he therefore proposed an amendment in the following words:—“ We therefore receive, with the utmost satisfaction, your information that a fresh attempt at negotiation will be instituted, and we cherish the hope that a mutual spirit of conciliation, and a disposition on the part of the United States to place France on *grounds as favourable as other countries* in her relation and connexion with us, will produce an accommodation compatible with the engagements, rights, and honour of our nation.”

Mr. W. Smith thought this amendment the same in substance as that which had been negatived, and if so, it was out of order.

Mr. Nicholas said, the gentleman might satisfy himself it was not the same with his, as it would not give occasion to all the petty objections he had brought against it.

Mr. Dayton hoped the gentleman from South Carolina would take a more manly ground of opposition to his amendment than the one he had suggested. The amendment was not the same as the one rejected; it was not introduced in the same part of the address, nor would it require to be re-committed to be inserted. He would also find that some gentlemen would vote for this, who put their negative upon the other; if this would not satisfy the gentleman, he believed the Chairman would.

The Chairman declared the motion in order.

Mr. Thatcher called upon the mover to state in what this motion differed from that which was rejected.

Mr. Dayton said, that this motion contained a principle not found in the report of the Committee, viz. to place France in as favourable a situation as other countries, hoping that this will be the means of accommodation. He wished this sentiment inserted in the letters of credence of the envoys; yet he wished he might not be charged with standing on forbidden ground. If this sentiment were not inserted in the address, he should look upon it with perfect indifference. He would have proposed this amendment, if he had not met with a second. He was desirous of preserving peace with the French Republic upon any terms short of the loss of our independence. The gentleman from Massachusetts would see the difference betwixt the two motions.

Mr. W. Smith spoke at considerable length against this amendment. He said nobody would object to putting

putting France upon as good a footing as Great Britain, if she was not so; but he believed she was now in a better situation, and that, therefore, she would not consent to be placed on the same footing with Great Britain. He objected to it also, because it held out an idea that reconciliation could only be had through the House, and because it would be an interference with the Executive. He dwelt upon each of these objections at considerable length; and upon his saying that it was possible, if the Executive should think it right not to comply with the direction of the House, it might be made the ground of impeachment, Mr. Dayton interrupted him, by insisting upon it, that no such construction could be put upon his amendment. Mr. S. begged to differ in opinion, and continued his objections.

Mr. Swanwick took a view of the advantages which France was said to enjoy over other countries with respect to bringing prizes into our ports, and said that they no longer existed. He took notice of a fact related by Mr. W. Smith, respecting a French prize being brought into Charleston, and denied that there was any favour done to the French in the business, but the contrary. France, he said, suffered material injury from the British treaty, and there needed to be no apprehension of their refusing to be put on the same ground with other nations. He reprobated the idea of being denied the privilege of giving an opinion to the Executive, and said there was no expression in the answer which echoed to that in the speech, with respect to a willingness to retract error, which the Senate had carefully reverberated. If gentlemen were sincere in their wishes for peace with France, he could not see how they could object to the amendment. Why say peace ought not to be made, except redress was received for spoliations? *He had himself suffered very materially* in this respect, as

well as many of his *constituents*, and he felt, of course, as ardent a wish that they should be paid for as other gentlemen; but he did not think it would be good policy to go to war, if satisfaction was refused. This would be probably to risk the loss of a pound for the sake of gaining a penny. Besides, it might be, that when these claims came to be settled, France (like Britain with respect to Virginia debts) might bring charges against us, and so settle the account. He was willing to leave that business to be settled by the Executive*.

Mr. Dayton had till now been of opinion, that, however members differed about the mode of doing it, there were none who did not wish to place France upon the same footing with other nations in respect to treaties. He thought the dispute had been about words, not about substance. He hoped, in the remarks he should make, he should be excused from arraigning the French Republic like a criminal at their bar, not only with crimes committed against the interests of the United States, but also with those said to be committed against the different nations of Europe, with whose political connexion we have nothing to do, and for which they would not certainly thank us; to say to them, You have enslaved this country, and deceived into vassalage another, were not very pleasant assertions; and this to be said also of *sovereign nations as inde-*

* To look at this man, and to have one's mind filled with that association of ideas that the sight of him inevitably produces, what must a man of honour and honesty feel at hearing himself called *his constituent*?

The idea that France might have claims on this country similar to the Virginia debts, is, I believe, original. The gentleman, however, was willing to leave *that business* to be settled by the Executive. Yes, there is no doubt that *Mr. Swanwick* is willing to leave *the paying of debts* to any body that will be kind enough to undertake it.

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pendent as we, at a time when the representatives of those nations were accredited, and received amongst us; and not only received, but permitted to sit within our walls, and listen to our debates.*

* This alludes to the eloquent speech of Mr. Harper, in which he called the King of Spain "*the humble vassal of France.*"

A censure on a member of Congress for speaking freely of a foreign nation, *while her* "AGENT WAS LISTENING TO THE DEBATE," would have disgraced almost any one except Mr. Dayton. It was very natural, after having proposed a measure that will expose him to eternal reproach, to wish to lock up the mouths of his opponents.

What will be said of the *independence* of America, of the liberty of opinion and of speech, when it shall be told in Europe, that, even in Congress, a man cannot speak the plain truth uncensured by the *Speaker*? When Mr. Harper called the King of Spain *the humble vassal of France*, he called him no more than he is called by the whole world. If the world is mistaken, if he be not the vassal of the French, but has formed an alliance with them for his own interest, he is something ten thousand times worse than a vassal; for what can equal the baseness of a King, who can voluntarily join hands with those who have sworn, and who annually swear, a hatred to royalty; who have vowed destruction to all kings, and have begun the career with the murder of the head of his own family?—Whether, therefore, the King of Spain be a vassal of the insolent Republic, or their willing ally, he is entitled to but little respect from any body, and particularly from members of Congress, who, if they are not as degraded as he, must at this time feel indignation at his conduct.

But we will suppose, for a moment, that it is not proper for members of Congress to cast reflections on foreign nations: what will the mild, and gentle, and lovely Mr. Dayton say to his own language with respect to the King of Great Britain? If I am not mistaken, he called King George a *monster*, and a *sea-robber*! Did the decent Mr. Dayton look about him at that time to see if the British Minister was present? During this very debate no less than four of Mr. Dayton's party (vulgarly called the *French faction*) have launched forth into the bitterest invectives against Great Britain, on her poverty, her *weak* and degraded state. Even Mr. Swanwick, an English ———, attempted a witticism on the stoppage of payment at her Bank, when, most assuredly, he would have done well to look to *a like stoppage elsewhere*. These gentlemen all seem to look upon Great Britain as a *relation*, and therefore entitled to less ceremony than other powers.

If the question were, into what balance of the powers of Europe we should be cast, as a make-weight, such observations might be pertinent; but as he conceived the question related to the maintenance of the peace of this country, he could not see how such remarks could apply. He hoped he should not be accused of a want of spirit, if he did not speak of war as a pastime—of conquering countries, as if it were only to overrun them to make them our own; or if he did not talk of buckling on our armour, and of *dying in the last ditch*. To him it appeared better to express ourselves with a becoming spirit of resentment, without using the rage of a *madman*. It was not necessary to crouch to any nation; but he wished to act as if he wished for peace, and not to stand in the position of *gladiators*, and sound the trumpet of defiance*.

He could say that he felt the full force of the indignity offered to this country in the dismissal of our Minister. He did not hear with coolness, “You shall repeal this act, you shall annul this decree, before we will have any communication with you.” When he heard this language, even from the Re-

* Mr. Dayton’s railing against *gladiators*, while his own arm was stretched out and his fist clenched, was diverting enough. He has indisputably the most vulgarly menacing attitude and countenance of any man in that House. He always looks as if he were going to bite at something. So universal has this remark been, that a pamphleteer, who wrote against me some time ago, compared him to a *snap-turtle*.

I never liked Mr. Dayton *since his confiscating* motion, and now I hate him. In my *Last Will and Testament* I had left him the very legacy that is left to Mr. Muhlenberg: a friend of mine wished me to alter my will, which I did; but it was an act that contravened the dictates of my conscience; for I believed then, what every one now knows, that he was much more deserving of the legacy than his predecessor. This amendment has this merit; it has completely unveiled a man, whose principles a great many good people were in doubt about.

public of France, he felt as an American; but he acknowledged a spirit of conciliation; and a sense of gratitude (not yet extinguished) led him at least to moderate, if not to extinguish, this resentment. The recollection of benefits received, would lead him to say to them: "Frenchmen, you were our first and best allies, when the country we called our mother, endeavoured to reduce us to unconditional subjection; when every nation shrunk from us, you, people of France (or, if gentlemen like it better, your Monarch), supported us:—you reached out a helping hand for our protection.—You at that time entered into a treaty with us; if it now operate hardly upon you, take it back; what you liberally granted to us in 1778, is restored to you in 1797: as it is, in your opinion at least, a source of disquietude, you shall be admitted to all the favours of the British treaty of 1794; neutral ships shall not make neutral goods; the list of contraband articles and the provision article in that treaty, shall be yours, and inserted in your new code."

Mr. Harper rose to say a few words in answer to the insinuations of the gentleman last up; particularly as to the terms *gladiator* and *madman*. He said, that it was nothing new to hear indecent insinuations from that gentleman, and that he would leave it to the Committee which of the two, that member or himself, acted most the part of a gladiator, either on that floor or out of doors.

Mr. Dayton repeated, that all he had said was, that he should not take the posture of a gladiator; why did the member suppose there was any allusion to him?

Mr. Harper said, he collected this from the gentleman's manner, and the observations which preceded and followed the expression. He should not remark on the imputation of indecency thrown upon

upon those members who had thought it proper to make allusions to the situation of foreign nations. Neither would he ever, for his part, suffer himself to be trammelled by the appearance of any foreign ministers on the floor; and if the gentleman thought their presence ought to be the least restraint on the freedom of speech in that House, *he pitied his ignorance and his weakness.*

Mr. W. Smith said, the doctrine of checks held, as it respected laws which were passed by the three branches of Government, but had nothing to do with business that belonged only to one or two of the branches; for instance, that House had no right to check the President in duties which the constitution had reposed in him. But the gentleman from New-Jersey had introduced a new check; *a check on the freedom of speech*, when particular characters were present. He did not expect to have heard any such observation, particularly from the quarter from whence it came. Mr. Smith said, members were not to be called to account for what fell from them on that floor, and he hoped a remark of the kind would never again be made. He was not at a loss to know the motive for all the anxiety which appeared for the passing of this amendment. The French had never asked for what was proposed to be granted to them; he would undertake to say they had refused. Mr. S. showed by the correspondence betwixt Mr. Randolph and Mr. Adet, that there had been a perfect willingness, on the part of our Executive, to make alterations in the existing treaty with that nation, *agreeably to their wishes, and that it was not owing to any thing on our parts that it was not done*.*

All

* This avowal is certainly very disgraceful to the United States; but it is, nevertheless, true. The federal Government did stand ready to alter the treaty with France, *agreeably to the wishes of the latter* ‡

All that could be said for the present amendment was, that it was less bad than the one negatived, as there was not a single word in this which altered the sense from the other. He repeated the propriety of making a stipulation for the payment of our twelve millions of loss by spoliations, which, if the French were not able to pay in money, they might pay in ships of war and frigates. He did not wish France to be put upon the same footing with other countries, because there were stipulations in some of our treaties, which he should not wish to see in a French treaty; for instance, in our treaty with Sweden there was an article which had produced great inconvenience. He meant the embargo article. There was an article also in the treaty with Spain, which, though it may not be injurious as it relates to that country, he should be sorry to see inserted in a French treaty. In the 16th article of that treaty, the Spaniards were allowed to take great liberties with our vessels; when their ships of war, in want of provisions, meet any of our vessels, they are allowed to take out of them such necessaries as they stand in need of, for which they give a receipt, to be paid by their government agents. This liberty he should not like to have given to French vessels, that they might take provisions from ours, in exchange for *a bit of paper*. There was also an article in our treaty with Algiers, the 12th, which he would not have inserted in a French treaty, viz. “ that a *citizen* found on board

latter! and this is brought forward as something in justification of the conduct of that Government! Did ever a Government before make a merit of such condescension? Can such a Government be said to administer the affairs of an *independent nation?*

“ an

“ an American vessel, having no passport, shall be
 “ considered as *lawful prize* *.”

It was very extraordinary that gentlemen were continually calling the British treaty a *bad* one, and still they wished the French to be put upon the same footing with the British. He would rather give them an equivalent in some other way. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Gallatin, had wished the Committee to *rally round the standard of peace* (by which he meant the amendment before them). This put him in mind of the story of a recruiting sergeant, who was beating up for recruits, when the Prince of Wales was a little boy, and who seeing some boys playing at marbles, in order to seduce them, said they would have nothing to do but *play at marbles with the Prince*. He doubted not every Member in that Committee wished for peace; but he trusted they had too much discernment thus to be *taken in*.

Mr. Gallatin said, one of the observations made by the gentleman last up, he could not assent to; he did not believe they were all desirous of peace; for, if he must express his opinion, he did not believe *that gentleman wished for peace*. Mr. G. drew this conclusion from the variety of contradictory objections which he had urged against the amendment. To prove that our Executive wished to have remedied the grievances complained of in the British treaty, he had read letters which passed between the French Minister and the Secretary of State, in July, 1795. But it was said this amend-

* This would, indeed, sound rather odd to men accustomed to be called *sovereigns*. To make a poor sovereign a *lawful prize* would be a shocking thing; but, let it be recollected, that the Algerine treaty subjects him to the risk.—What a farce it is then to talk about a *sovereign people*!—a sovereign people, any one of whom may be made a lawful prize, like a box or a package!

ment was big with danger, as it would give to France certain provisions granted in treaties with other powers which it is not desirable she should have. An article in the Swedish treaty was mentioned, but gentlemen should recollect that it was an article of *reciprocity*; we have the same right in a Swedish port that Swedes have in ours; and as he had heard great complaints about embargoes on our vessels in French ports, if an article of this sort were agreed upon, it would be a great advantage to us. The next objectionable article was one in the Spanish treaty, allowing ships of war in distress, to take out provisions from our vessels, on giving a receipt. This, Mr. G. said, was allowed by the law of nations, if there had been no provision of the kind in the treaty, which only provided the manner of paying for what was taken. As to the treaty with Algiers, he could see *no connexion between that and the treaties in question*; yet, even in that treaty, *free bottoms were allowed to make free goods* *. Besides, Mr. G. observed, this address was

* Only observe the perverseness, the impudence, the baseness, of this man. The treaty with Algiers makes American citizens, the *sovereign* citizens of America, if without a passport, *lawful prize*. "Very true," says he, "but in this treaty *free bottoms are allowed to make free goods*;" and thus it appears that this haggard-looking republican patriot is more anxious that the American flag should protect French goods from seizure by the English, than that it should protect American citizens from the dungeons and the chains of Algiers!

The perverse villains, who still keep harping on the British treaty, know that it is a good treaty for America, and a much more advantageous one than they had any reason to expect; but France bids them clamour. They still persist in saying that this treaty "*allows* the British to seize enemy's goods in American bottoms," though it has been ten thousand times proved, that there is no *allowing* in the case, that Great Britain had the right, and exercised it too, *previous* to the treaty; that it is a *right* established by the *law of nations*, and uniformly claimed and exercised by France itself.—See Censor for November, 1796.

to

to be sent to our Executive, who knew very well what was meant by the expression used in the amendment. He charged gentlemen with endeavouring to raise the prejudice of members with respect to the treaty in question, in order to get them to rally round the standard of opposition to the amendment. He apologized for having so expressly charged the gentleman from South Carolina with not wishing for peace, but did not mean to retract the expression.

Mr. W. Smith said, he wished to relieve the gentleman from the uneasiness he seemed to feel from having made so direct a charge against him; but he would tell him, that he did not believe (*though he had said so*), that if the French were not satisfied with the terms offered in this amendment, he would be willing to go to war. And now he thought the account settled between them.

The question on Dayton's amendment was put, and carried, 52 against 47.

The Committee now rose, and the House being resumed, the Speaker proceeded to read the amendments, and to take the sense of the House upon each. There were several, of a trifling nature, which passed without a division; but those of the two trimmers, *Coit* and *Dayton*, the federalists were resolved to oppose inch by inch. The original draught of the answer contains this passage: "Knowing, " as we do, the confidence reposed by the people " of the United States in their Government, we " cannot hesitate in expressing our indignation at the " *sentiments disclosed by the President of the Executive " Directory of France, in his speech to the Minister of the " United States.* Such sentiments serve to discover " the imperfect knowledge which France possesses, " of the real opinions of our constituents." This the opposition members thought *too pointed*, and there-

fore they had proposed and carried the following amendment :

“ *Any sentiments* tending to derogate from the confidence ; such sentiments, *wherever entertained*, serve to evince an imperfect knowledge of the real opinion of our constituents*.” This cringing amendment was carried, 48 against 46.

Next came the amendment of Dayton, worded as it passed in the Committee. A motion was made to leave this amendment out altogether. This brought on a debate, the most remarkable part of which was a speech of Mr. S. Smith, who, in speaking of the depredations of the French, seemed offended, that, “ because *one* vessel or *two* were taken by French privateers, we should be greatly surprised † !” This motion was lost, and the question being taken on Dayton’s amendment, it was carried, 50 to 49 †. The

* Thus, “ *the sentiments disclosed by the President of the French Directory*,” and officially announced to the House as such, are changed into “ *any sentiments, wherever expressed*,” lest the despots of Paris should look upon the passage as too pointed !—Such is the “ *glorious independence*” of America !

† Remember, reader, that, after the *hundreds of vessels* that have been taken and condemned by the French ; after *some hundreds* of American seamen have been exchanged with the English as *prisoners of war* ; after about a *thousand* of them have been confined in French jails, where many of them yet are ; after they have been hacked, whipped, kicked, and set to hard labour, under the lash of even black fellows—remember, I say, that, after all this, *Smith of Baltimore* has the *patriotism* to stand up in Congress, and add his insult to those of the despots of Paris, by talking about *one* or *two* vessels taken by French privateers !—N. B. It will be clearly proved, in the course of this work, that the vessels of *Smith of Baltimore* sailed under the *protection of the French Government*, while he was thus extenuating the depredations committed on the vessels of his constituents.

‡ The *Yeas* and *Nays* were as follows :—YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bard, Blount, Brent, Bryan, Cabell, Claiborne, Clay, Clifton, Dana, Davis, Dawson, Dent, Elmendorff, Findley, Fowler, N. Freeman, Gallatin, Giles, Gillespie, Gregg, Hanna, Harrison, Havens,

The Daytonian amendment having got the day, and the opposition having thereby clearly expressed a sense of their *right* and *duty* to dictate to the President on *the sacrifices to be made to France*, Mr. Kittera seemed to think it no more than reasonable, that in an answer which contained such an anxious solicitude for the interests of France, the interests of the people of America should not be entirely forgotten, and therefore he proposed another amendment.

To get rid of a crooked, insidious question of the Jewish scribes and elders, our Saviour thought proper to ask them another question :—" The baptism of John, is it from heaven or of men ?" They were ashamed to say, From heaven, lest he should reply, Why did you not then receive him ? and they were afraid to answer, From men, lest the people should stone them, for all men esteemed John as a divine person. Our outrageous patriots seem to have got into much such a dilemma : they are afraid to complain of the injuries we have suffered from France, although they are so enormous as well as notorious, for fear of offending the voracious monster, as they pretend, but really because it would imply an approval of the conduct of their own Government, which they have always opposed ; and

Havens, Holmes, Jones, Livingston, Locke, Lyon, Macon, M'Clenachan, M'Dowell, Milledge, New, Nicholas, Parker, Schureman, Skinner, S. Smith, W. Smith (P. District), R. Sprigg, Sandford, Sumpter, Swanwick, A. Trigg, J. Trigg, Van Cortlandt, Varnum, Venable, R. Williams.—50.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Baer, Bayard, Bradbury, Brookes, Chapman, Chaplin, Cochran, Craik, Davenport, Dennis, Ege, Evans, A. Foster, D. Foster, J. Freeman, Glenn, Goodrich, Gordon, Griswold, Grove, Harper, Hartley, Hindman, Hofmer, Imley, Kittera, S. Lyman, Machir, Matthews, Morgan, Otis, Sheperd, Sinickson, Sitgreaves, Jer. Smith, N. Smith, W. Smith (Ch.), Thatcher, Thomas, Van Allen, Wadsworth, J. Williams.—49.

N. B. Dayton (the Speaker) would, of course, have been amongst the YEAS.

they are afraid to be altogether silent on a subject so interesting to their constituents, for fear they should lose their popularity, and, in case of a war with France, justly become the victims of popular vengeance.

The worthy member from Pennsylvania, who threw out his "*Bone to gnaw*," to the democrats, has the thanks of all his fellow-citizens, whose esteem is worth having. If poor Pennsylvania be disgraced by a Gallatin, a Swanwick, and a M'Clenachan, she has a Kittera to balance them.

Mr. Kittera said, it appeared to him that the expression of "*mutual spirit of conciliation*," was improper, as the passage of the address now stood, without any thing being stipulated to be done *on the part of France*. He therefore proposed to add the following words, viz. "*to compensate for any injury done to our neutral rights*." He was against giving advice to the President as much as any one; but, if they were to give it, he would make it as consistent as possible; and at the same time that attention was paid to the interests of France, he was not willing to forget our own citizens. After some few words from Mr. Giles and Monsieur Gallatin, against the motion, and from Mr. Bayard in favour of it,

Mr. Nicholas rose, and with the "*warmest sensibility*" beaming from his eye*, wished gentlemen to consider, what a serious barrier they were putting in the way of the peace of the country; a clog, which, if persisted in, must lead to war. It was possible, he said, they (meaning his own party) might have carried their zeal too far, but what was it to effect? the peace of the country; whilst the zeal of their opponents led to war. He felt this

* He has but *one*, and that one is a most villanous gray eye; it is precisely like the eye of a tabby cat.

question of so *important* a nature, and, in his opinion, *so improper to be decided*, that he should move the *previous question* upon it.

Mr. Sitgreaves saw the difficulty in which gentlemen were placed, which was, either to abandon *the claims of their fellow-citizens*, or *their own views*, and he had no doubt in saying that an endeavour to get rid of the question was an endeavour to abandon those claims.

The previous question was put and lost, but it was lost by four votes only ; and the result of the division clearly proved, that there were forty-eight members, out of the hundred who were present, ready to abandon every claim which their constituents had on France.

The French faction having been out-generated by Mr. Kittera, were determined to make such an attack on another part of the answer, as should more than counterbalance their defeat. When the question was about to be put on the whole answer, as amended, *Edward Livingston* said, “ that having had occasion to express his doubts about the propriety of the conduct of the Executive towards foreign nations, and *not believing* it had been *just and impartial*, not from the fear of offending any foreign nation (as had been insinuated), he was not willing to vote for an address containing words so *exceptionable*.” He was followed by *Gallatin*, who moved “ to strike out the passage which approves of the principles that the Government has acted on, and which declares the readiness of the House to give them their most cordial support.”—Mr. Otis thought there was something more artful and insidious in this attempt than in any which had been made in the whole business, as it went to cast a censure, not only on the Executive, but on all the departments of Government.

vernment. *Mr. Allen* said he was sure such a motion could never pass, while there was a drop of *American* blood in the House, and an *American accent* * to say no.

When, however, the question was put on this insolent, this degrading, this infamous motion, *Mr. Allen* had the mortification to find, that there were *forty-four* Americans base enough to say *yea* to it. There was, nevertheless, a majority against it; it was, of course, rejected, and the answer, in the following words, was then put and carried:

SIR,

The interesting detail of those events which have rendered the convention of Congress at this time indispensable (communicated in your speech to both Houses), has excited in us the strongest emotions. Whilst we regret the occasion, we cannot omit to testify our approbation of the measure, and to pledge ourselves that no considerations of private inconvenience shall prevent, on our part, a faithful discharge of the duties to which we are called.

We have constantly hoped, that the nations of Europe, whilst desolated by foreign wars, or convulsed by intestine divisions, would have left the United States to enjoy that peace and tranquillity to which the impartial conduct of our Government has entitled us; and it is now, with extreme regret, we find the measures of the French Republic tending to endanger a situation so desirable and interesting to our country.

Upon this occasion we feel it our duty to express, in the most explicit manner, the sensations which the present crisis has excited, and to assure you of our zealous co-operation in those measures which may appear necessary for our security or peace.

* Alluding to the barbarous, outlandish gabble of Gallatin.

Although it is the earnest wish of our hearts, that peace may be maintained with the French Republic, and with all the world ; yet we never will surrender those rights which belong to us as a nation ; and whilst we view with satisfaction the wisdom, dignity, and moderation which have marked the measures of the supreme Executive of our country, in its attempts to remove, by candid explanations, the complaints and jealousies of France, we feel the full force of that indignity which has been offered our country, in the rejection of its Minister.

No attempts to wound our rights as a sovereign state, will escape the notice of our constituents ; they will be felt with indignation, and repelled with that decision which shall convince the world that we are not a degraded people ; that we can never submit to the demands of a foreign power without examination and without discussion.

Knowing, as we do, the confidence reposed by the people of the United States in their government, we cannot hesitate in expressing our indignation at any sentiment tending to derogate from that confidence. Such sentiments, wherever entertained, serve to evince an imperfect knowledge of the opinions of our constituents. An attempt to separate the people of the United States from their government, is an attempt to separate them from themselves * ; and although foreigners, who know not the genius of our country, may have conceived the

* This unmeaning, this absurd, this paradoxical phrase, did not slide into the answer unnoticed. Mr. Evans moved to strike it out, but there was a decided majority for retaining it. Both parties, generally speaking, approved of it, but from precisely different motives ; the federalists, because it seemed to say, that *the people were unanimous in support of the measures of the Administration* ; and the democrats, because it expressed their favourite maxim, that *the people are themselves the sovereign and the government*.—What wretched nonsense !

project, and foreign emissaries may attempt the execution, yet the united efforts of our fellow-citizens will convince the world of its impracticability.

Sensibly as we feel the wound which has been inflicted by the transactions disclosed in your communications, yet we think with you, that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States forbid the repetition of advances for preserving peace.

We therefore receive, with the utmost satisfaction, your information that a fresh attempt at negotiation will be instituted; and we cherish the hope that a mutual spirit of conciliation, and a disposition on the part of France to compensate for any injuries which may have been committed upon our neutral rights, and on the part of the United States to place France on grounds similar to those of other countries, in their relation and connexion with us, if any inequality shall be found to exist, will produce an accommodation, compatible with the engagements, rights, duties, and honour of the United States. Fully, however, impressed with the uncertainty of the result, we shall prepare to meet with fortitude any unfavourable events which may occur, and to extricate ourselves from their consequences with all the skill we possess and all the efforts in our power. Believing, with you, that the conduct of the Government has been just and impartial to foreign nations, that the laws for the preservation of peace have been proper, and that they have been fairly executed; the representatives of the people do not hesitate to declare, that they will give their most cordial support to the execution of principles so deliberately and uprightly established.

The many interesting subjects which you have recommended to our consideration, and which are so strongly enforced by this momentous occasion,

will receive every attention which their importance demands; and we trust that, by the decided and explicit conduct which will govern our deliberations, every insinuation will be repelled, which is derogatory to the honour and independence of our country.

Permit us, in offering this address, to express our satisfaction at your promotion to the first office in the government, and our entire confidence that the pre-eminent talents and patriotism which have placed you in this distinguished situation, will enable you to discharge its various duties with satisfaction to yourself and advantage to our common country.

Lyon begs to be excused from waiting on the President.—On the 3d of June, just as the House were preparing to carry up their answer to the President, *Lyon*, the brutal Representative from Vermont, rose, and wished, he said, to make a motion, which was, “that such members as do not choose to attend upon the President, to present the answer to his speech, shall be excused.” He wished to be understood. He thought the motion a reasonable one, because it proposed to leave them at liberty to do as they pleased. And by the rules he saw he was obliged to attend, except sick, or leave of absence was obtained; now, as he hoped not to be sick, he wished to put himself out of the power of the serjeant at arms, if he did not attend. He had been told he might stay behind without being noticed; but this was not enough for him, as he was a timid man, and the House had the law on their side, as he recollected something of a reprimand which had been given to Mr. Whitney. (The Speaker reminded him it was out of order to censure the proceedings of the House on any former occasion.)

He

He said he stood corrected, and proceeded. He had spoken, he said, to both sides of the House (*as they were called*) on the subject. One side dissuaded him from his motion, and laughed at it; the other side did not wish to join him in it, because it would look like disrespect to the person lately elected, who was not a man of their choice; but he trusted our magnanimous President would, with the enlightened yeomanry of America, despise such a boyish piece of business. This, he said, was no new subject with him; he had long heard the folly of the wise made a matter of wonder in this respect. It was said, this was not the time to abolish the custom: but this was the cant used against every kind of reform. No better time could ever arrive, he said, than this, which was the threshold of a new presidency, at a time when the man elected to the office was beloved and revered by his fellow-citizens; he was as yet unused to vain adulation; he had spent a great part of his life amongst a people, whose love of plainness of manners forbids all pageantry; he would be glad to see the custom done away. Were he acting in his own personal character, he perhaps might conform to the idle usage, but acting as he was for eighty thousand people, every father of a family in his district would condemn him for such an act. The gentleman from Connecticut yesterday hoped there would be *American* blood enough to carry the question. (The Speaker again reminded him, that he was out of order to allude to what was done yesterday, and said the proper motion would be to rescind the rule.) He did not wish to rescind the rule, he said, only so much of it as obliged the House to attend. This, he said, was no trifling thing with him; he should have as great objection to attend this business, as a Quaker would to make his obsequance

to a magistrate. (The Speaker said he must move to rescind the rule, or that he himself be excused : no other motion was in order.) Then, he said, he must confine himself to the narrow ground of himself. He had no objection to gentlemen of *high blood* carrying this address. He had no pretensions to *high blood*, though he thought he had as *good blood* as any of them, as he was born of a fine, *hale, healthy* woman. Before yesterday he never heard of gentlemen boasting of their *blood* in that House. He could not say, it was true, that he was descended from the *bastards of Oliver Cromwell*, or his courtiers, or from the Puritans, who punished their amorous horses for breaking the sabbath, or from those who persecuted the Quakers, or hanged the witches*. He could, however, say, that this was his country, because he had no other ; and he owned a share of it, which he had bought by means of honest industry. He had fought for his country : in every day of trouble he had repaired to her standard, and had conquered under it. Conquest had led his country to independence, and, being independent, he called no man's blood in question.

Mr. Dana hoped the House would not attempt any violence on the gentleman's feelings ; he, for one, should be very happy to excuse Mr. Lyon from walking with him, and he dared to say that the President would not regret his absence.

Mr. Otis said, as the *Lyon* appeared to be in a savage mood, he would recommend him *to be locked up* while the House proceeded to the President. (He

* Alluding to the practices of the New-Englanders.

was loudly called to order from several parts of the House *.)

The motion to excuse him from waiting on the President was put, and carried *unanimously*.

Envoys.—Monday, June 5. The Senate this day concurred in the appointment of Mr. C. C. Pinckney, 20 to 24; and of Messrs. Dana and Marshall, 22 to 6.

Arms and Ammunition.—Tuesday, June 6. The Representatives this day took up a bill, sent from the Senate, “for prohibiting, for a limited time, the exportation of arms and ammunition, and for encouraging the importation thereof.”

Mr. Dayton (the Speaker) wished to make a motion which he supposed might, in some degree, effect the end contemplated by several other gentlemen. It was to strike out “bombs” and “cannon-balls.” He did not think there need be any fear of the United States falling short of these, as the single State of New-Jersey, or a single county of that State, could cast sufficient to supply the whole world.

Mr. S. Smith observed, that in a former law of this kind, bombs and cannon-balls were not included. It was asked, who exported these articles, and for what purpose they were used. To say who exported them would not be right, as they were contraband, and he could not tell who used them, nor was it an object of their inquiry. Piccaroons had no occasion for them, since they went alongside vessels, and boarded them. The same argument which was used

* The comparing of *Mr. Lyon* to the noble animal of the same name was rather out of order, it must be confessed. Had the gentleman called him the *ass in the lion's skin*, I dare say the House would have heard him with great satisfaction.

against exporting these articles, might be used against the exportation of provisions.

Mr. W. Smith said the bill was predicated upon, being an injury to manufactures; nor did he know why they should make an exception in favour of one more than another, which would give just cause of complaint. The operation of the bill, since the amendment had been carried, would be of short duration. The object of it was twofold, viz. to preserve these articles in the country to be ready in case of an emergency, and to keep them from foreign powers, who might turn them against us. Though we had no occasion at present for cannon-balls, we could not help looking forward to the time when they would be wanted; and though no bombs were at present used against us, yet the time might probably arrive, when they might be so used, and it was politic to guard against the possibility of it.

Mr. Nicholas said, this subject had taken a much more serious shape than it assumed when it was at first introduced. It seemed as if it were not so much the intention of this law to regulate our own wants, as to prevent the supply of foreign powers with warlike articles: this, he said, might be attended with *very serious consequences*, since it would certainly operate principally against *one of the belligerent powers*; and except we are prepared and determined upon war, we should be careful in provoking it. It was conceded that there was no probability of our wanting bombs or cannon-balls: the operation of the law was of course intended against *one of the belligerent powers*; for though both had an equal right at present to come here and purchase these articles, every one would see *that France would be principally affected by the regulation*. It would be little short of hostility therefore to say these articles should not be exported. Indeed, he feared there was more in this business
than

than the Committee understood; that they were taking a ground which could not be maintained, and which, pending a negotiation, ought not to be taken *.

Mr. Harper thought the objection of the gentleman from Virginia deserved some consideration. No measure of defence had been, or seemingly could be, mentioned, but it was said it might give offence to France. He asked how long we were to be deterred from taking such measures as should seem to be necessary, for fear of offending France? If we were not to take general measures for the protection of our citizens because there might be a possibility France would not approve them, where was the humiliation to stop? He supposed we should next be told that we must not fortify our ports, or arm our vessels, lest it should be offensive to France. He trusted that the House would no longer hold so disgraceful a language, but that they would consult what would be for our own good, without reference to any foreign nation. Our Government, he observed, had not said it would never prohibit the exportation of arms and ammunition. The English had been permitted to purchase these articles, of which the French complained, and equal liberty was given to both nations; but this was no reason why both nations might not be prohibited from doing so, if it should be found expedient. And though he did not believe that all the advantages which were expected, would be derived from this law, yet he should be in favour of it; not because it would not offend a foreign nation, but because it would be serviceable to ourselves; for he said, if they were to go on, in consulting the feelings of the

* If this wretch had been a Deputy from France, instead of a Representative of Virginia, could he possibly have held other language than this? Never was such a shameless prostitution of character! But you would no longer be surprised at it, if you could once see the man.

French nation on what they did, if they saw us thus prostrate and feeble, they would soon take advantage of our timidity and folly; on the contrary, he would show foreign nations that we are determined to regulate our own affairs, in our own way, in the way of justice; for if we went on in the present humiliating way, he should not be surprised at receiving a note from the French Minister, saying that such and such a law must be repealed, as they were offensive to the French Directory.

Mr. Dayton, thinking himself alluded to by the gentleman just sat down, proceeded to ask if he meant to insinuate that he was actuated by other motives than the good of his country? when *Mr. Harper* interrupted him by saying expressly, he had never intimated any such thing, his remarks being confined to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. Nicholas said he would tell the gentleman from South Carolina, when he would cease to hear this clamour about offending foreign nations: it would be when he found a greater disposition in all the departments of Government for preserving the peace of this country: when he was convinced they had as great a desire to preserve this blessing as he had. He did not believe this was the case at present; and it was from this distrust that he suspected every measure which was brought before them. Was he not justified, he asked, in saying that a measure of this kind was calculated to remove peace from us, as it was a measure which would operate wholly (as he before stated) against the French? He said he disdained to answer what the gentleman had said about fear; it could not be found in him; and he thought that gentleman was possessed of no small degree of assurance, to fancy that he (*Mr. N.*) was less attached to the interests of this country than he himself was. He felt as sensibly for this country as any man; and therefore he could not help expressing his apprehensions

sions of war, from every step which the gentleman seemed inclined to take.

Mr. Harper believed there was policy in preventing the exportation of implements of war which might be turned against us. He did not accuse the gentleman from Virginia of personal fear; he believed he was incapable of it; but he doubted whether his zeal for serving his own country would be so great as he professed, when the interest of another country happened to clash with that of his own.

After a very long, but confused and uninteresting debate, the bill passed, without any division as to its main object.

Arming Merchantmen.—Wednesday, June 7. The Representatives took up a resolution brought forward by *Mr. W. Smith* in the following words: “Resolved, “ that provision be made by law, for regulating the “ arming of the merchant-vessels of the United “ States.”

Mr. Williams said it was well known that a number of our merchantmen were arming in different ports of the Union, and it was, therefore, necessary to regulate this business, to prevent mischief being done. Gentlemen might differ in opinion with respect to the martial law, or law of nations, on this subject; but all would wish, since vessels were arming, that they should be put under some restraint. When he voted for manning the frigates, he did it with a view of having them employed in the defence of our coasts, and not as a convoy. Our situation, he said, was truly critical, and he was undetermined how far it would be proper to arm the merchant-vessels of the United States; but, to prevent mischief, he wished the resolution might be agreed to, reserving to himself the right of voting ultimately for or against it. It might afterwards undergo such modification as should be found necessary.

Livingston

Livingston (it is absolutely a prostitution of the term to call such a man *Mister*) opposed the resolution in a very stupid speech *.

Mr. Coit thought the provision should be made, but he wished the object to be defined. He could not say that he could so modify the resolution, that he could himself vote for it; he had not made up his mind upon the subject as to what cases restrictions should be made; but in order to take the sense of the Committee he would move an amendment, in order to bring the subject before them: it was to insert at the end of the resolution "*bound to the East Indies and to the Mediterranean* †."

Mr. Harper proposed to amend the amendment, by adding the word "*West*" after "*East*," so as to read "*East and West Indies*."

Mr. W. Smith did not think it material whether *West Indies* was inserted, or the amendment was

* *Livingston* spoke at some length against the resolution, and was, *as usual*, followed by the dear little man whose presence in Congress reflects so much honour on the city of Philadelphia. He always comes plodding after *Mr. Livingston*, just like the long-heeled, bandy-legged *Sancho Panza* at the heels of the raw-boned Knight of *La Mancha*.

After this couple came *Monsieur Gallatin*. A precious trio!—an *American*, an *Englishman*, and an *Italian*. This part of our House of Representatives is something like the group that followed *Anacharsis Cloots* (the "*orator of the genre humain*") to the bar of the Convention, except that *Cloots's genre humain* was composed of a gang of the vilest miscreants that ever disgraced a gibbet; whereas every one knows that *Messieurs Livingston*, *Swanwick*, and *Gallatin*, are men of unshaken credit, of reputation fair as mountain snow, and patriotism strong as whiskey.

‡ This *Mr. Coit* has, I am told, always been a sort of a busy-body. The amendment he now proposed was certainly the most whimsical, the most absurd, that ever came athwart the brain of a Marplot. It amounts to exactly this; "*We will permit our merchantmen to defend themselves against every thing, excepting only those who attack them, the French privateers and pirates.*" And yet this *Mr. Coit* makes shift to persuade some of the good New-Englanders that he is a Federalist!

rejected

rejected altogether : it was his wish that the Committee should first have decided upon the abstract principle. Presuming it to be the existing law of this country that merchants have a right to arm their vessels, he wished to know whether it was their wish to interfere in regulating and restricting that right. He believed the modification of the business might very well have been done in the bill. He would have risen before to have given his reason for this, had he not been prevented from doing so by gentlemen who had complained that he had not done it. He was in favour of the amendment to the amendment ; but if it was not carried, he should be against the amendment. It would be in vain to take into consideration the East India and Mediterranean trade, when spoliations were principally committed in the West Indies ; when indeed the object of the present meeting of Congress was principally to take into consideration the protection of the West India and European trade ; he presumed therefore, if they meant to do any thing effectual, they should take into consideration the West Indian trade. Gentlemen were very ready, he said, to object to every plan brought forward, but they themselves proposed nothing : all they did was to hold out alarms of war, though every one expressed a desire for peace. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Swanwick) had objected to the arming of merchant-vessels, because of the expense. He believed the merchants of the United States in general thought differently, though there might be some merchants in this city who would be averse to the measure. As to the expense, he believed the expense of fitting out the vessels would be more than saved in the insurance. But there was a farther consideration : by this mean the vessels and seamen would be preserved to the United States ; whereas if it were not adopted, we not only lose our vessels and men, but they go to strengthen the power

of a nation which may use them against us; and unless France knew that this Government would afford protection to its vessels, we might expect them to take advantage of our remissness, by spinning out the negotiation, and plundering our property.—Something had been said about the conduct of other neutral nations: he believed they had armed their merchantmen, though he did not pledge himself to prove it; but if this was not the case, they had fleets to convoy their trade. We, on the contrary, had no fleet, nor did gentlemen seem desirous that we should have any, since *they had expressed their wishes* that the frigates now building *were burnt*. He asked what was to become of the commerce of this country, if we refused to protect it? If we were to resort to an embargo, what would be the consequences? You would not, said he, suffer your vessels to lie up for ever: after a time they would be sent out again. In case of an embargo, what, he asked, would become of our seamen? They would wander about the country, discontented, and perishing for want. What would become of our produce? It would rot upon the wharfs.

Mr. S. Smith (of Baltimore) conceived that Congress were called together *to adopt such measures as were best calculated to preserve the peace of the country, by means of negotiation*, and to fix upon such means of defence as would not be injurious to the country. It was his opinion that the President was not authorized by law to prevent the vessels of merchants being armed; but the merchants of the United States would readily submit to any loss rather than go to war. He knew that this was the opinion of the Philadelphia merchants; he had seen many of them. Nor had he met with one native American who wished to go into this arming plan; they believe it would infringe our neutrality, and throw us into a war. When he came here, his mind was scarcely made up

up on the subject; he did not like to give up his right to defend his property, but he had found this to be the general opinion, and therefore he brought forward the amendment, which had been well amended by the gentleman from Connecticut. The gentleman from South Carolina had since added *West Indies*, and this brought them to issue; for it was *war or no war*. If the latter amendment was agreed to, he should be for striking out the whole, leaving it general, because, the West Indies in it, it would be particularly pointed. They had been told of the loss sustained by spoliations, and where it fell: he believed it fell upon the great body of the people of America, and that the fall in the price of produce had been occasioned *principally by the British Admiral having forbidden the carrying of our provisions to Hispaniola*. The British fleet in the West Indies, he said, was supplied with provisions from Ireland*, whilst the French depended upon this country for supplies; so that *they were our best customers there*.—The gentleman from S. Carolina seemed to think it was right for our vessels to go *into rebel ports* in the West Indies; and had told them of our men being taken by Victor Hugues, considered as pirates, and *hung*. (Mr. W. Smith denied having said our citizens were hung.) Mr. S. read Victor Hugues's proclamation (though he said he had no more respect for him than that gentleman, as he had lost six or seven thousand dollars by him), and said that those ports were not considered as rebel ports *which were taken*

* The self-contradictions of the French faction are endless. The reader may remember, that when the object was to decry the terms of the British treaty they said that the English West India islands depended solely on *this country* for provisions, and therefore this country could have pinned Great Britain down to any terms it chose; but now, behold! when the object is to make light of the custom of those islands, we are told, that they do not buy American provisions, but are *supplied altogether from Ireland*.

by the English (Cape Nichola Mole was one of those), but merely those which were in a state of rebellion, to which if we are determined to trade, it would certainly lead to war. Mr. S. insisted that the French trade carried on to the West Indies was a productive one, and that *payments were in general made as punctual as in any other part*, and referred to Major Mountflorence's letter for an act of generosity never shown by the British; nay, he thought there was a *better chance of getting money owing from France* than there was of getting it for any spoliations by the British, and now under adjudication*.

In the course of this day's debate Monsieur Swanwick, the honourable Representative of Philadelphia, asserted

* Of all the speeches ever delivered within the walls of Congress, this is certainly the most insulting to the understandings of the people. I have not time to enter into a full refutation of all the assertions contained in it; but some of them I cannot pass over for a moment, and among these is the audacious vindication of *Victor Hugues*. The *arreté* of this cannibal, gorged with American blood and plunder, Monsieur Smith says, does not consider as rebel ports *those which were taken by the English*. This is an absolute falsehood. We all know that Martinico, St. Lucia, Tobago, Demarara, Berbice, Port-au-Prince, St. Mark's, and Jeremie, *were taken by the English*. Martinico stood a siege of nearly a month, and the General Rochambeau, who, with his garrison, was made prisoner of war, is now actually in the service of the five despots. Of the other ports, which the *arreté* declares *rebel ports*, three cost the English a great number of lives, and the others surrendered because they were unable to defend themselves; and yet Smith of Baltimore has the assurance to say, that Victor Hugues's *arreté* did *not* include *those ports which were taken by the English*! Other defenders of the French have generally some regard to truth in the statement of well-known facts;—but the Baltimore Smith boldly sets shame at defiance, throws aside the veil of the pretended patriot, and assumes the audacious tone of the vulture of Guadaloupe.

When Monsieur Smith says that the French are *our* best customers, he undoubtedly used the word *our* as relating to *himself* and his *partners*, and therefore I shall not contradict his assertion. I am willing also to believe that the French are very *punctual* in their payments *to him*; but as to their being so “in general,” I would say it is an impudent falsehood, if it were not unnecessary. With
respect

asserted that “ a *greater number* of our vessels were “ taken in the West Indies by the British, than by “ the French.”

Mr. Harper, in reply, took notice that, on a former occasion, the gentleman had said that the depredations of the British were equal to those of the French, but now he told them they were *much greater*. Mr. H. said he then called upon him for his proof, and he referred him to the insurance offices. He had accordingly applied to them ; and though he had not yet got his information complete, such as it was, he would lay it before the Committee. From the Insurance Company of Pennsylvania he found that, since the first of January, the French had taken four ships, five brigs, and three schooners, insured in that office, and the British only two brigs in the same time. From the North America Insurance Office his account was less complete, as it went back to the beginning of 1796, and ended with the end of it, when the spoliations of the French were not so great as they have been since. The total amount of British captures during that period was 99,274 dollars ; of French 271,000. But he believed, if the account was brought up to the present date, the French spoliations would be *ten times* the amount of the British.

After a good deal more debating, the bill grounded on Mr. Smith's resolution was finally rejected.

Privateering.—Thursday, June 8. The bill sent down from the Senate, “ to prevent citizens of the “ United States from privateering against nations in

respect to there being “ a better chance of getting paid by the French than by the British,” such an assertion might have been expected from a piccaroon citizen *in partnership with Citizen Barney* ; but from Monsieur Smith of Baltimore, the Representatives of a commercial city, a man of tried patriotism and virtue, no one would have expected it.

“amity with the United States,” was taken up for a third reading, and passed without a division. This was only because the United States were yet in amity *with France*; if this had not been the case, the bill would never have passed so quietly. Indeed this bill did not become a law without some slight attempts, on the part of the French faction, to manage the matter so that Americans might privateer in the ships or under the commission of France.

Fortifications.—Monday, June 12. The Representatives took up the bill “for providing for the further defence of the ports and harbours of the United States.” This debate exhibited a specimen of the effect of those jarring interests which must eternally interrupt the harmony, and enfeeble the powers of a confederation of independent States.—*Mr. Smith* (of S. C.) proposed to appropriate for the purpose of fortifications, two hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Dayton, the Speaker, wished the gentleman from South Carolina would withdraw his motion, to give way to an amendment which he wished to introduce. He mentioned that it was to insert “provided that no part of the money herein appropriated be expended upon fortifications, except in cases where *the jurisdiction shall have been previously ceded to the United States.*”

Mr. Williams (of New-York) supposed this amendment as particularly pointed against the State of New-York, because the Legislature of that State had not ceded the jurisdiction of their fortifications to the United States. It had been a matter of considerable altercation in that State, and he believed its vicinity to New-York was the reason its territory had not been given up. The Legislature of New-York, he said, did not meet till January; therefore, except something was now done, it would not be in time to have

have any effect. If the sum appropriated was in any respect adequate, Mr. W. said, a work would be commenced at the Narrows, which was certainly the only place upon which a fortification could be erected for the complete defence of that harbour. A good fortification there, he said, would be a general benefit to the United States, as four fifteenths of the whole revenue of the Union was collected in that port. He thought it proper, therefore, in order to quiet the minds of so large a body of the community, that some attention should be paid to the fortifying of this port : even if no interruption of the peace of the country was expected, it would be right to attend to this business. The sooner a fortification was begun at the Narrows the better, and he trusted a handsome sum would be appropriated for the purpose : the great benefits which must result from a well-constructed fortification at the Narrows, both to the Union and the State of New-York, was obvious to all who were acquainted with its situation ; he therefore hoped the amendment would not be agreed to.

Mr. Dayton believed the gentleman from New-York, when he said that State had no intention of separating from the Union ; if they had, he supposed they would not be permitted, at least not *before they had paid their debt*. But gentlemen say, Will you coerce the Legislature to give you the jurisdiction of their fortifications ? He said, No. As the gentleman from North Carolina had stated three years ago, he had declared it as his opinion, that all the money expended on those works would be thrown away, so far as they were intended for a defence against armed ships. They might indeed be of use to the city in preserving its peace and aiding its municipal regulations ; but an armed vessel would always pass them with a fair wind and tide. He owned his amending was intended to operate in part against New-York ; but if gentlemen would bring forward a plan for

erecting a fortification at the Narrows, with a proposition to appropriate to that purpose the *debt due from them to the United States*, they should have his vote. What was the State of New-York more than others? New-Jersey had ceded the territory of a light-house, and Pennsylvania had ceded Mud Island. And except they would consent to do what others did, they could not expect the same advantage.

Mr. Brooks complained of what had fallen from the gentleman from New-Jersey, with respect to the debt of New-York; spoke of the territory of the light-house ceded by New-Jersey, as ten or fifteen miles of sand, which would not raise *water-melons*; and of this amendment, as intended to *sink the bill*.

Mr. Smith (of S. Carolina), seeing the amendment adopted, hoped that leave would not be given for the Committee to proceed any further in the business. In this wish he was joined by the New-York members.

Mr. S. Smith (of Maryland) said, because the States of New-York and South Carolina had not done what they ought to do, though the country was in danger, yet no other port must be attended to. This looked as if those gentlemen thought the defence of the Union depended wholly upon them.

Mr. Williams (of New-York) replied, that if the country were in danger, the whole should be fortified; but if not (as seemed to be the opinion of gentlemen in refusing to do any thing towards securing two of as important harbours as any in the Union), then there was no occasion for any.

When Dayton's amendment came before the House, *Gallatin* rose and opposed it. He said he had voted for this amendment, because he conceived it to be founded on just principles; and as he should now vote against it, it was necessary to give his reasons for doing so. He believed the principle just, and proper to be used whenever the United States should

go into a general plan of fortifications; but as this was only meant for a temporary provision against danger, that danger might be greatest, and the assistance wanted most, at a place which was not ceded. Besides, he believed there was not a single State in the United States had ceded *exclusive jurisdiction of their territory*, according to the constitution; and therefore this provision excluded the whole from relief; as every cession which had been made provided for a *concurrent jurisdiction* of the State. So far as it related to Pennsylvania, she would not be entitled to any support, because she not only reserved a concurrent jurisdiction, but provided that if the cession was not accepted within one year it would be void; and more than one year had now elapsed, and the cession was not accepted.

The question was then put on the amendment, and it was lost by a great majority*.

The sum was at last fixed at 115,000 dollars, and the bill passed into a law by a majority of *seven* only; and it is to be observed here, that Gallatin, with many others who had opposed Dayton's amendment, did nevertheless oppose the passing of the bill. They were for *no defence* at all. They wished the coast, as well as the commerce, to continue exposed to France. One *Mr. Dowell* of North Carolina was very open and impudent in his opposition. He thought it wrong, he said, "to throw away so much money on fortifications, which he said could be of *no use*; for

* Thus we see that the rejection of this amendment was entirely owing to the circumstance of Pennsylvania having reserved a *concurrent jurisdiction* over the fortified places in her territory, and that reservation is to be ascribed to her unwillingness to give up a jot of her power to the federal government. But had it happened that she had made a full cession of the territory, all her members would have voted for the amendment: and thus the ports which alone were worth fortifying, viz. Boston, New-York, and Charleston, would not have had a farthing of the appropriations laid out on them.

“ though they might prevent an enemy from landing
 “ at the particular point where they were fixed,
 “ they could not prevent them from landing at some
 “ neighbouring spot; and *being landed, they would*
 “ *take possession of the fort, and turn the guns against*
 “ *ourselves* *.”

Militia.—Wednesday, June 15. A resolution was

* This Mr. M'Dowell is famous, and has long been so, not for blundering and making bulls, but for talking sheer nonsense; mere goose gabble, that has neither object nor meaning. He was an officer last war: I have heard him from his seat boast of his services, and I believe of his wounds. Such a man ought to understand something about fortification. I do not mean that he ought to understand the detail of military architecture; I shall even admit that he might be of service as an officer without understanding its principles; but he certainly ought to know something of the use of a work or fortress, when constructed. The gallant Mr. M'Dowell seems, however, to know no more about the matter than the Peruvians did of naval architecture, when they took Cortez's ship for a great beast. “Fortifications,” says this old foldier, “can be of no use, because they cannot prevent the enemy landing “on some neighbouring spot.” That is to say, they are of no use, because, though they are adequate to the defence of the point where they are erected, they cannot defend a point where they are not! The second objection is, a fort is a real injury to the country it is intended to defend. And why, Mr. M'Dowell? “Because the “enemy being landed at *some other point*, would take possession of “the fort, and *turn the guns against ourselves*.” Now, thou sapient engineer, permit me to ask thee another question or two: suppose the enemy landed at *some other point*, must he not *come to the fort*, before he can get possession of it? And if, when in possession, he can turn your guns against you, cannot you, while you have the possession, turn your guns against him? The idea of a fort being *useless*, because it cannot command the whole coast or frontier of a country, is worthy of the brain of an infant prattling on its father's knee. Those who know any thing of tactics, or have profited from the perusal of history, know, that a well-constructed fortress with two thousand men, is of as much use in the defence of a country, as an encamped army of twenty thousand horse and foot. Congreve represents a foldier with his guts in his head and his brains in his belly: I do not positively affirm that Mr. M'Dowell comes up to this description; but I must confess, that, if I am to judge of his military talents by the above speech, I would not trust him with a corporal's command, that is, *three men*.

proposed by *Mr. Blount* in the House of Representatives in the following words:

“ Resolved, that provision ought to be made by
 “ law for putting 80,000 militia of the United States,
 “ in equal proportions from the several States, in a
 “ *state of requisition*.”

Mr. Thatcher objected to the word *requisition* — However fond that gentleman might be of the French phrases, he did not wish to imitate them in their expressions in our legislative acts. He had no objection to the holding of such a number of men in readiness — but he hoped the sentiment would be expressed in our language.

Mr. Blount supposed he should be told, because he used the word *requisition* in his resolution, that he was one of the *factionists*. He believed if the gentleman looked over the old Congressional proceedings, he would find that the demands made upon the States were called *requisitions* *. He had, however, no objection to any other word which had the same meaning. He thought the objection a trifling one, and such as the gentleman ought to be ashamed of making.

Mr. Thatcher replied, that he did not often say any thing of which he was ashamed; that he had said nothing about *French factions*; but it was an old saying, “ *That a guilty conscience needs no accuser.*”

* The gentleman might have mentioned a great many other instances, in which the French revolutionists have observed a close imitation of the old Congress of America. Their Committees of *secrecy*, of *public safety* (*salut publique*); their *intriguing with the people of other countries*; their *various and varying addresses*; their being appointed to produce conciliation, and their rendering conciliation impossible; and many other things, in which I presume *Mr. Blount* would not wish them to find imitators in the present Congress.

Mr. Blount (with a good deal of warmth) said he should take from no man, *with impunity*, such language as that. [There was a loud call to order *.]

Mr. Skinner hoped that the law would not require the 80,000 men to be called out *immediately*, but "at such time as the President should think necessary." The expense, he said, of calling out this detachment in Massachusetts would not be less than 200,000 dollars; and he could not see any objection to leaving it to the President to judge of the propriety of putting the measure into execution. This amendment passed.

Mr. Sewall said, though there might, in the opinion of the President, be a necessity for calling out a part of these men, there might not be occasion for calling out the whole; he therefore moved the following amendment, viz. "or of any less number, which, in his opinion, the service may require."

Mr. Blount did not know the meaning of this motion, except it were with an intention to save expense, which it would not effect; as, if the detachment must be made, 8000 men would cost as much organizing as 80,000. He thought we ought at all times to have this portion of our militia ready for any call that could be made.

Mr. Sewall said his intention was to save expense. In 1794 he knew a great expense had been incurred in Massachusetts, and it had been in proportion to the number of men employed.

Mr. Williams observed that 80,000 men would be about one tenth part of the whole militia of the United States; but if only one twentieth part was

* This ended in a challenge on the part of Blount, which Mr. Thatcher had too much sense to accept of. It will appear, in the course of this work, that Blount can bear to be called something worse than a *partisan of France*.

wanted, little more than half the expense would be incurred.

Mr. Hartley was in favour of holding 80,000 men in readiness. This was done in 1794; and though he did not think we had now so much reason to apprehend danger, yet he would wish to be in a state of preparation. He had no objection to leaving the time of calling out the militia to the President, but not the number.

Monsieur Dayton said, if the situation of things justified the call for 80,000 men, he should be the last to object to it; but he did not think it did. The gentleman from North Carolina had said, it would be no inconvenience to his State; it would be very different in many other States. In New-Jersey (as he had before stated) it would be felt very considerably. Men must have bounties, and their pay made equal to the price of labour. There would not only be required a new organization and classification, but also an inspection of arms and accoutrements. He believed all this would be done under this law if it passed in the State of New-Jersey, whatever might be the expense and inconvenience it put them to. *If he thought there was any danger*, he would not have objected to the measure. *He did not, however, think we should have a war*; and if such an event were to take place, he did not think there was a probability of an invasion. Our situation in 1794, he said, was very different. We were then not only depredated upon by the British at sea, but Lord Dorchester had issued his warlike proclamation; the Indians were counted, and had their tomahawks in their hands uplifted and ready to strike! Believing, therefore, the measure to be unnecessary, and that it would operate unequally, he should vote for this amendment, which
would

would leave it to the President to detach such a number of men as he shall believe necessary *.

Monsieur Macon was sorry any amendment had taken place, since he could not now move to strike out the first section of the bill, in order to see whether the House meant to pass the bill at all; for he was of opinion with the gentleman from New-Jersey, that there was no occasion for it. *He was certain that this business could not be carried into effect without expense.* And if an invasion were to take place, only a few of these men could be drawn into the service †.

Mr.

* M. DAYTON can see *no danger*, poor blind man! He must know that the French are resolved to accept of no atonement short of absolute degradation; and yet he can see no danger! He is, I suppose, ready to crouch down before them: his imagined security lies in his disposition to submit; for submit he must, or he must resolve to resist, and as he has made use of every quirk, quibble, and trick, to get rid of every measure of resistance, we may fairly conclude that he has prepared his neck (if, indeed, it was not made on purpose) for the yoke.

He was aware that some would exclaim, What! can Mr. Dayton see no danger? The confiscating Mr. Dayton, who, in 1794, when Great Britain was in question, was for seizing on the property of honest unsuspecting creditors, and who cheerfully voted for 81,000 militia, as he would have done for 800,000—can this prompt and decisive repeller of injuries now see no danger? Aware of this, Mr. Dayton thought proper to observe, that “our situation in 1794 was very different.” So it was indeed. Then there was no danger, and then Mr. Dayton was brave. The depredations on our commerce committed by Britain never amounted to above one ninth part of the sum which had been seized by the French; the British never made prisoners of our seamen. As to Mr. Dayton’s old falsified story about Lord Dorchester and the tomahawk, there is now hardly any one stupid enough to listen to it. In the present situation of affairs it is almost an insult to the readers of a public paper to attempt to controvert the gross absurdities contained in the speech of the Speaker. He is either stone-blind himself, or he wants to put our eyes out: if the former, he is an object of our pity, if the latter, of our indignation.

† As Monsieur Dayton’s speech is remarkable for blindness, so Monsieur Macon’s is for penetration. The piercing optics of this latter

Mr. Skinner hoped the bill would not pass at all. It was well known that there was an alarm in the minds of the people with respect to war; and there could be no doubt, if this measure was passed, it would be supposed there were serious apprehensions of war*. He had, besides, another objection to the passing of this bill. War had been apprehended by many. Officers and men were a good deal divided with respect to the relative situation of our country: if this bill pass, they will speculate upon measures; they will go into discussions which will neither tend to strengthen the Government, nor increase good neighbourhood. He therefore hoped it would not pass.

latter Monsieur have enabled him to discover, and he actually has discovered, that the *bringing of 80,000 armed men into the field will be attended with some expense*. "Yes," says he, "I am certain that this business cannot be carried into effect without expense." There's a conjuror for you! If he had lived in New-England about a century ago, he would certainly have been hanged for a wizard.

* Mr. Skinner is afraid to vote for the 80,000 men for fear of *alarming the country*. Congress is called together on account of the aggressions of France; the President recommends defensive measures; the House of Representatives pass several bills in pursuance of these recommendations; the House in a body, and every individual member, express a determination to defend their country; and, after all this, Mr. Skinner is afraid to call out a part of the militia, lest "*it should be supposed that there are serious apprehensions of war!*" After six weeks spent in talking about measures of defence, the gentleman seems to be afraid that we shall think them in earnest. He may quiet his fears; for there are very few people, I believe, who do not look upon it as a mere farce. Another of Mr. Skinner's fears seems to be better founded. He is afraid that the militia, when called out, will, instead of fighting to defend the Government, *fall to disputing about its measures*. This they most certainly will. They would, indeed, do the same thing at home; but I perfectly agree with the gentleman, that it would be better for them to dispute in little knots of a dozen or two unarmed, than in whole regiments armed with ball and bayonet.

The

The bill, after a good deal more debating, passed by a considerable majority, fixing the number of men which each State should furnish on the basis of the number of white inhabitants, as follows :

Tennessee,	—	—	806
Georgia,	—	—	1,334
S. Carolina,	—	—	3,535
N. Carolina,	—	—	7,268
Kentucky,	—	—	1,542
Virginia,	—	—	11,150
Maryland,	—	—	5,262
Delaware,	—	—	1,168
Pennsylvania,	—	—	10,690
New-Jersey,	—	—	4,286
New-York,	—	—	7,923
Connecticut,	—	—	5,860
Rhode Island,	—	—	1,616
Massachusetts,	—	—	11,836
New-Hampshire,	—	—	3,558
Vermont,	—	—	2,150

* Total, 80,000

Artillery.—Tuesday, June 20. The Representatives took up a bill sent down from the Senate “for raising an additional corps of artillery.”

The bill was opposed by *Mr. Giles* and *Smith of Baltimore*, and was ably supported by *Mr. William Smith*, the spirited and eloquent member for Charleston, South Carolina, who concluded his speech with observing, that when an increase of the navy was

* This looks nobly *on paper* ; but there it ends. The 80,000 men will never parade, they will never be drawn up in battalion any where but on paper. I do not think it possible to collect together, I mean to embody and bring into actual service, five thousand militia-men in the whole United States.

under consideration, Mr. S. said, gentlemen exclaimed, *Leave trade to take care of itself*, and let us attend to the internal defence of the country; but now, when they were preparing for that, the same men say, We are about to employ upon this object what ought to be employed for the protection of commerce. Mr. S. said, it was an error to say no taxes would be wanted if the bill did not pass. There would be money in that case wanting for manning the frigates, for arming the revenue cutters, for the diplomatic department, and for the expenses of this session (not less than 60 or 70,000 dollars would be needed for the last item only), for the payment of the agents appointed for assisting to carry into effect the 6th article of the British treaty, &c.; so that the argument had no weight. It was said these men were unnecessary, because the militia were the proper defence; but the President had not the power to call out the militia, except in cases of insurrection or invasion, so that an enemy might get possession of the posts before the militia were called out*. He concluded by saying there were thirty forts on the sea-coast, and that these men distributed amongst them would only give fourteen to each, which would not be sufficient to preserve the guns from rust; and, if this bill passed, there would be only forty-one for each fort. He submitted it to the Committee, therefore, whether they ought to risk the safety of the country for the sake of 216,000 dollars. He trusted they would not.

Mr. Baldwin said a good deal against standing armies in general; but as it was no more than a repetition of the cant we have a thousand times heard on

* He might have observed, besides, the same men who opposed this bill, had also opposed the keeping of the militia in readiness to turn out; so that they had, indeed, opposed every measure of *offensive or defensive*.

the subject, the reader shall be spared the perusal of it here.

Mr. Williams spoke against the bill; he thought the proportion of artillery already greater than that of any other nation *.

Mr. Swanwick thought, that, by raising these men, *they would increase the danger which they wished to avoid.* They apprehended an attack from a foreign nation, and to guard against any possible injury they were to go to expense, and by that means increase our national debt, from which he thought *we had the greatest danger to fear*, since they saw the difficulty attending the raising of any additional revenue. He called the attention of the House to a situation of things not much unlike our own. The French nation had many regiments on their sea-coast, and had been long making great preparations, as if with a view of invading Great Britain. In consequence, the British have expended large sums in fortifying and putting the island in a good state of defence; and, though the French never seriously intended to invade

* The following is a copy of the War-office return of artillery and engineers.

At Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Machillimackinac,	}	438
Presq'isle, on the Mississippi, and in the South-western Territory,		
At West Point,	-	103
At New-York,	-	60
At Philadelphia and Mud Island,	-	90
At Baltimore,	-	59
At Norfolk,	-	56
At a fort in North Carolina,	-	6
At Charleston,	-	62

Total, 876

But it is notorious that these men are little better than common infantry. Their dispersed situation, and a total want of skilful and experienced officers and of the means of practising, have rendered them very fit, perhaps, *to keep the guns from rusting*; but for nothing else.

that country, yet the appearance of it had probably occasioned greater embarrassment, from causing these great expenses, and the consequent derangement in the finances of the country, than if such an invasion had really taken place. He reprobated the idea of defending the country against an invasion by two regiments of artillery. The militia, he said, would be the proper defence in such a case; but, he trusted, the Commissioners appointed for the purpose would speedily settle all differences betwixt the two countries *.

Mr. Brooks said, if he believed there was no danger, he should agree with gentlemen that there would be no occasion for these men; but thinking our situation in no degree improved by the late events in Europe, he should vote for raising the proposed regiment. The objection of expense would go against every measure. As there was no certainty of our Ambassadors being able to settle our dispute with

* Accustomed as I am to the nonsensical babble of this son of an English pensioner, I cannot help expressing some astonishment at the above-quoted speech. All that he says at all times is marked with imbecility, but here he has outdone himself: this speech might serve as a foil to those of the Rutherfords, the M'Dowells, and the Lyons.

The first assertion is, that an increase of the artillery "*will increase the danger which it is wished to avoid.*" He immediately after states that this danger is, *an attack from a foreign nation*, which he says will be increased by adding to our corps of artillery, *because that addition will augment the national debt!* Now, if this be so, the fitting out of the frigates, the constructing and repairing of fortifications, and, in short, every possible measure of defence, will increase the danger of an attack; because every such measure must unquestionably add to the expenses and debt of the nation; so that in due course of reasoning we are to conclude, that danger is to be apprehended from nothing but debt; and that protection is to be found no where but in a full purse. From the importunities of a dun, or the claws of a constable, I grant you, Mr. Swanwick, that money is the only effectual means of deliverance; but, Sir, when you spout in public you should forget *private affairs*.

France, they ought, he said, like "wise men, to foresee and prevent the evil." He was afraid gentlemen were got into a *profound sleep*, and would not wake till it was too late.

Mr. Giles was not of opinion with the gentleman from South Carolina, that because the President and Secretary of War had recommended the raising of these men, they should adopt the plan; indeed the Senate proposed to raise only half of what the Secretary recommended. He trusted they should think for themselves. He did not think the strength of the country depended on four thousand artillery; he looked upon military establishments as a sort of *fictitious strength*, but upon *the militia as the real strength of the nation* *. He thought the expense a serious

* "The militia is the real strength of the country." This is the eternal cry of the opposition, and it would be in some measure excusable in a country which was without dear-bought experience on the subject. A militia is good for nothing until long kept embodied, and under as strict discipline as regulars are kept; and in this, where the commanders are appointed by the command, they will be found worse than nothing. The objection to the addition to the corps of artillery is founded on its expense; but the militia, if held embodied, will cost forty times as much; and if not held embodied, it will exist only in name. When I hear the House voting eighty thousand militia-men, it gives me no more idea of additional security than if they voted eighty thousand pebble-stones. I hate feather-bed soldiers, and I never see them without calling to mind the following verses of Dryden:

"The country rings around with loud alarms,
And raw in fields the rude militia swarms,
Mouths without hands, maintain'd at vast expense,
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;
Stout once a month, they march a blust'ring band,
And ever, but *in times of need*, at hand;
Of seeming arms they make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day."

This is the picture of the American militia. Such they ever have been, and ever will be under the present regulations; and whoever trusts to them alone for defence will soon find, if attacked, that the *name of soldier* is of little use against the arms of soldiers in reality.

object.

object. It appeared, our establishment had already cost us eight millions of dollars, and he could not see where they had done service to that amount; he therefore thought it a *bad bargain**.

The gentleman from New-York had charged the House with being asleep. He believed that could not be the case, as it would be a difficult matter indeed *to sleep where he was*. It had been said additional revenue would be wanted, whether this bill passed or not. Suppose this were so, it was surely no reason for passing a bill which might be thought necessary.

After a little further debate, the Committee rose, and the House rejected the bill altogether, 57 to 49.

Allegiance and Expatriation.—Wednesday, June 21. The Representatives took up the bill “for preventing citizens of the United States from entering into the service of any foreign prince or state †.”

Mr.

* *Farmer Giles* thinks the standing army of the United States a *bad bargain*, because it has cost the country eight millions of dollars in the course of eight years. Let us see: the Farmer has been in Congress about the same space of time, and supposing him to have been in actual service, upon an average, six months in a year, he has cost the country *eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-four dollars*. Which is the *worst bargain*, the Farmer or the army?

† The reader will recollect that numerous proofs have been received of Americans having not only entered into the service of France, but of their having fitted out privateers, in several ports of France and her foreign dominions, for cruising against the commerce of their country. Some of these scoundrels had returned home to America, had purchased estates with the riches thus infamously acquired, and had set at defiance the persons whom they had robbed and the laws of the land. *Captain Barney*, who was now become the Commodore of two French frigates, had brought these frigates into the very harbour of Norfolk, after having captured several American vessels on the coast. Such a

Mr. Coit moved to strike out the sixth section, which was in the following words:—

“ And whereas, for the due execution of this
“ and other laws tending to the security of the
“ public welfare, it is expedient to define and as-
“ certain the mode in which a citizen may dissolve
“ the ties of citizenship, and become an alien; be
“ it further enacted, that the citizens of the United
“ States, whether native or adopted, shall be
“ deemed citizens thereof, until they relinquish that
“ character in manner hereinafter provided, that
“ is to say; whensoever any citizen of the United
“ States shall, by deed in writing, under his hand
“ and seal, executed in the presence of, and sub-
“ scribed by two or more witnesses, and by at least
“ two of the subscribing witnesses proved before the
“ supreme, superior, district, or circuit court, of
“ some one of the States, or of the territories north-
“ west of the river Ohio, or before a circuit or
“ district court of the United States, within the
“ jurisdiction of which court he shall then be resi-
“ dent, or by open verbal declaration, made and
“ recorded in either of the courts aforesaid, declare
“ that he absolutely and entirely renounces all
“ allegiance and fidelity to the United States, and
“ to every of them, and shall forthwith depart out
“ of the territorial limits thereof; every such person,
“ from the time of his departure, shall be con-
“ sidered expatriated, and for ever thereafter shall
“ be deemed an alien, in like manner and to all
“ intents as if he had never been a citizen: Pro-
“ vided always, that he shall not enter into the

contempt did he entertain for the Government, and for his countrymen in general, that he came by land to Philadelphia, where he had the audacity frequently to attend the debates of Congress, dressed in his French naval uniform! It was to put a stop to this disgraceful and growing evil, that the present bill was brought in.

“ military

" military or naval service of a foreign nation, or
 " become the owner or part owner of any foreign
 " privateer or letter of marque, within one year of
 " his departure from the United States; and if any
 " such person shall enter the military or naval ser-
 " vice of a foreign nation, or become the owner
 " or part owner of any foreign privateer or letter
 " of marque, within the space of one year from
 " the time of his departure from the United
 " States, he shall be liable to all the pains and
 " penalties to which he would have been sub-
 " ject for the like conduct if he had continued a
 " citizen."

Mr. Sewall hoped it would be struck out. In every country in the world where civil society was established, the citizens of that society owed a certain duty to their Government which they could not readily get clear of; but they were about to establish a principle, to put it in the power of the citizens of the United States, at their will, and without any pretence, to say they would be no longer subject to this Government; and this at a moment of danger, when citizens of other countries might be called home from this country. He thought this would be extremely wrong; it would be giving an opportunity for insult to our courts and country; and he was sure no nation would show us so much complaisance in return *.

Mr. Claiborne thought it no more binding for citizens born in the United States, to continue citizens of the United States than it was for a

* Observe, however, that this dangerous principle must be established by America, before she can have any pretensions to the right of protecting British seamen against the press-warrants of the British Government.

Roman Catholic or Protestant to continue of that opinion, when he arrived at years of maturity, and could judge for himself. He insisted upon it, men had a natural right to choose under what government they would live: and they had no reason to fear our citizens leaving us whilst our government was well executed. He did not wish citizens of the United States to be in the situation of subjects of Great Britain, who, though they had left the country forty years ago, were liable to be considered as subjects of that government. He trusted *the rights of man* would not thus be infringed, but that they should allow the right of expatriation unclogged. He said there was a great difference between the two cases which the gentleman had stated. A man born and educated in a country certainly owed it obligations which were not to be shaken off the moment he chose to do so. The different societies of the world, he said, were like so many families independent of each other; and what family, he asked, would suffer any of its members to leave it, and go into another, when he pleased? He thought it unreasonable that it should be so.

Mr. W. Smith said, the doctrine of perpetual allegiance was derived from Great Britain, which, though it might be good in theory, was not so in practice. They had departed from many doctrines derived from that country, and the time was come, he believed, for departing from this. The idea of a man being compelled to live in this country, contrary to his will, seemed to be repugnant to our ideas of liberty. He thought when a man was so disgusted with the country, as to resolve to leave it, for the purpose of becoming a citizen of another country, he should be at liberty to do so, on his complying with certain formalities, and should never again be readmitted. It was upon this principle
that

that this section was founded, and he thought it valuable*.

Mr. N. Smith was sorry that the Committee who had reported this bill, had thought it necessary to report the 6th and 7th sections. The doctrine of expatriation on one hand, and perpetual allegiance on the other, were subjects they had all heard much about; but expatriation, under limitation and restraint, was a new business. From its novelty it became doubtful. This being the case, he wished the subject had been deferred to an ordinary session; particularly as it appeared to be no more connected with other parts of the bill, than with many other laws now extant. If we were to have a law on this subject, he should wish to have it in a separate bill. For his part, he could not see how the Committee could suppose it to have been a part of their duty to report these sections; if he had thought it had, he should not have voted for appointing a Committee on the occasion. Gentlemen advocating these clauses, say they would not allow of expatriation in time of war. He would go further and say, he would not allow of it when there was a prospect of war; for it would be idle to prohibit it in one case, and not in the other. He then asked, if this was not the very state in which we now were? If it were, why pass such a bill at this time, when it could not go into operation? He thought this a

* It will be observed, that *Mr. W. Smith* would have been the last man in the world to support this bill, had he not known that it was impossible to obtain a law recognising the doctrine of perpetual allegiance. Knowing that this could not be done, he wished the bill to succeed, that there might be some little check to the evil of transferring allegiance, by which France was daily manning ships of war and privateers. But *Mr. Scwvll*, *Mr. N. Smith*, and many other members, who also wished to put a stop to the immediate evil, were not willing to do it, however, by establishing a principle that would for ever prevent a law of perpetual allegiance.

good reason for rejecting these clauses. There was a mutual obligation, Mr. S. said, between a government and all its citizens. The government owed protection to its citizens, and citizens owed obedience to their government. These duties were mutual and co-extensive; and they might as well say that government could abandon its citizens when it pleased, as that citizens could desert their government when they pleased; yet *he would allow that government might, on certain occasions, legalize expatriation, but not on the ground of a citizen's having a right to expatriate when he pleased.* He should have no objection to take up the subject at a time when they could do justice to it, but he thought the present was not that time*.

The question for striking out the 6th section was put and carried, 54 to 41. The 7th section, which was as follows, fell of course:

“That all persons who shall exercise the right of expatriation, according to the laws of the United States, shall be and are hereby prohibited from becoming citizens of the United States for ever hereafter.”

Mr. Harper proposed an amendment, which was intended to introduce a new principle. As the bill now stood, no person could go into foreign service without incurring the penalties therein provided; but he believed there might be cases where it would be for the benefit of this country to allow persons to go into foreign service. He therefore wished to strike out the words “the limit of the same,” to introduce those of “without having first obtained leave from the President of the United States.”

* This speech of Mr. N. Smith is worth attention; and it should be remembered that a very great majority of the sound part of the House were of his opinion.

Mr. Dayton (the Speaker) moved to strike out the words moved to be struck out by the gentleman from S. Carolina, with the addition of the word, "without." As the bill stood, he said, there was a provision against citizens who accepted and exercised a commission within or without the limits of the United States; but none against those who accepted it within, and exercised it without the limits. He was against lodging the power proposed in the President, for reasons assigned by the gentleman from Virginia. Nor did he think it would be attended with advantage for our citizens to go abroad to learn what could not be learnt at home; he believed, if so, they would learn more vice than virtue, and bring home a greater portion of evil than good.

After a few observations from *Mr. Harper* and *Mr. Sewall*, the question on the amendment was negatived, 44 to 39.

Mr. Dayton hoped some remedy would be applied to the evil he had mentioned, and that they should not report so imperfect a bill.

Mr. Sewall suggested a way in which it might be remedied in the House. The Committee accordingly rose, and the House took up the amendments. Having come to that for striking out the 6th and 7th sections,

Mr. Nicholas thought it would have been better to have avoided taking up this subject at present—but, having taken it up, if the bill passed at all, he believed it had better pass with some such regulations as the present. As to the doctrine of perpetual allegiance, he did not think it could find many advocates in this country. It would, indeed, be dishonourable for us to hold out such a doctrine, *after inviting people to come here in crowds from foreign countries* *. This doctrine, he said, would

* Aye, there's the rub.

affect a third or a fourth of the whole people of this country. He thought, therefore, the right of expatriation ought, at least, to be confirmed here; as *an example to other countries* *.

Mr. W. Smith, in answer to his colleague, produced the case of Talbot, and the opinion given by the Secretary of State, and by the Judiciary Court, on that occasion, in favour of the right of expatriation.

Mr. Giles thought there could not be a doubt in the minds of Americans on the subject of expatriation. Indeed, he said, this was the foundation of our revolution; for they were not now, he said, to be told they owed allegiance to a foreign country. It had not only been the ground of the revolution, but all their acts had been predicated upon this principle. He referred to the act respecting the rights of naturalization, which makes every new citizen swear to support the constitution of the United States, and to renounce all other allegiance.

Mr. Sewall insisted upon the policy of preventing the renunciation of allegiance, without control. *The treaty of peace with Great Britain*, he said, *had dissolved our allegiance to that country, by acknowledging our independence* †.

Mr. Thatcher did not think the principle was so important as it had been considered. The great emigrations which we every day saw to this country, might quiet their apprehensions of many going from it. He did not think one man a-year would

* And what nation, does he imagine, would be stupid enough to follow this example?

† This is a complete answer to Giles's quibble, and it is, indeed, the only tenable ground. It is the only good title that Americans plead. To plead any other right to a transfer of their allegiance, is to set up a dangerous principle, is to set up the right of *desertion, treason, and rebellion*.

take advantage of the expatriation clause, for fifty years to come, which could be no great object, especially when it was considered that these would probably be the least valuable of our citizens.

Mr. Otis said, that when this bill was first reported, these clauses struck him unfavourably; but a little reflection had convinced him of the propriety of retaining them.—The passing of this provision, he said, would not affect the constitutional right with respect to expatriation, wherever it might be. This bill did not relate to persons emigrating into the Spanish or English territories, but to persons expatriating themselves, and engaging in the service of foreign countries.

The question on agreeing to the report of the Committee of the whole to reject the sixth and seventh sections of the bill, was taken and lost; 57 to 34.

All the amendments having been gone through, *Mr. S. Smith* moved to postpone the further consideration of the bill *till the first Monday in November*; which was carried, 52 to 44*.

Naval Armament.—Thursday, June 22. The order of the day in the House of Representatives, was the bill for “providing a naval armament.”

* Thus the whole bill received the go-by.—It was best; for the House was gotten upon the most ticklish ground that ever an American Legislature walked over. PASS THE BILL, and you establish, by law, the dangerous and destructive right of *transferring allegiance*; you add, *indifference for one's country, ingratitude*, and even *treason to the rights of man*.—REJECT THE BILL, and you tell the world that, though you are determined to make all naturalized citizens forswear their allegiance to other states, you are resolved to preserve the allegiance of your own; and that, though you plead your right to the seamen of Great Britain, who are in your service, you are resolved no nation shall ever plead any such right to yours.

Mr.

Mr. Giles moved to introduce a section, to prevent the President from employing the three frigates as convoys to foreign ports, instead of the section which now authorized him to do it.

Mr. Parker thought it would be highly improper in them to dictate to the President how he should use these vessels. He wished that to rest on the broad basis of the President's responsibility, and would, therefore, agree to strike out the section altogether.

Mr. Giles asked, whether to ascertain the object upon which these vessels should be employed, was a legislative or an executive act? It was certainly legislative. They ought to say to the President—"Here is the force, and there is the object *." It was said, they had already given an opinion to the President, with respect to the disputed articles in the French treaty: he now wished a law to be passed in conformity to that opinion. They were often charged, *Mr. Giles* said, with a want of confidence in the President. He was free to own *he had not much confidence in the present President*. His speech at the opening of the session had destroyed all his confidence: but, however high their opinion might be of the Executive, they ought not to lodge improper powers in his hands †.

The

* What a pretty "*Executive* !" It is a mere farce, then, to talk about the power of the *President*. *Giles* would treat him just like a subaltern officer. *There is a galley for you; go and take that privateer if you can*. "Here is the force, and there is the object." What pretty work such an Executive would soon make in Great Britain!

† There was a highwayman, who, when about to receive sentence of death, wanted to swear the peace against the Judge, for he really thought *he had a design upon his life*. Of this nature is *M. Giles's* suspicion of the President. His speech at the opening of Congress "*destroyed the confidence*" of the *Moniteur*, as completely as the exordium of the Judge "*destroyed the confidence*"

of

The question for striking out was carried without a division.

Mr. Giles then moved to insert the section before proposed, to confine the use of our frigates to the protection of our coasts and commerce, *within the jurisdiction of the United States.*

Mr. S. Smith said they had been called together, because the French had committed depredations on our commerce, and refused to receive our Minister. He took notice of the different acts which they had passed this session, till he came to this, which, in his opinion, if our vessels went out to sea, would lead to war, and therefore he wished to have them limited. When our Commissioners arrive in France, said he, the French Directory will ask, "*For what are you arming?*" Your Congress has "been called together for the express purpose of "taking measures against us." They would add, "*Disarm, or we will not treat with you.*"

Mr. Brookes was surprised to hear a gentleman declare that we were brought to such a situation that we could not take up arms in our own defence, without offending a foreign nation. He was the more affected at the declaration, because it came from an *American soldier*. "Barras," says the gentleman, "will say to the Commissioners, Go home "and lay down your arms, and we will then treat "with you." He hoped the gentleman would retract this humiliating sentence*.

The

of the poor knight of the post; and the loss of confidence, to the suspected parties, is much about the same in both cases.

Mr. Giles is happy he has lost nobody's confidence, for he never was confided in by any body but his "adored" people, a few of the outcast of Virginia. A man accustomed to plead the cause of *fraudulent* debtors, was well calculated to defend the conduct of a *plundering Republic*.

* Never did this, or any other country, witness so humiliating a scene, as the sitting of this day. A bill is brought in for employing

The question was put and negatived, 52 to 44.—The following day, the bill having been gone through, *Mr. R. Williams* proposed to amend the first section of the bill, by adding, after empowering the President, should he deem it expedient to cause the frigates to be manned and employed, “pro-
“vided they shall not be employed as convoys.”

Mr. Giles hoped this amendment would be agreed to. He wished to define the object for which these vessels should be employed, that there might be no misunderstanding on the subject. *Mr. G.* insisted that the French nation had a right to inquire of our Commissioners for what we were arming, and if this amendment were agreed to, it would be a sufficient answer *.

ploying vessels in defence of our coasts, and a member proposes to keep those vessels within gun-shot of the shore, *for fear of offending the enemy, against whose robberies and insults that shore is to be defended!* Another is afraid that arming may be dangerous, because he looks upon it as certain that the enemy will *order us to lay down our arms, before they will hear our complaints!* Humiliated, fallen, degraded state! This is “*unconditional submission*” with a vengeance. If these men speak the sentiments of the people, I would sooner be a West India negro, than a citizen of America. To live in absolute bondage is no dishonour: there have always been bondmen; but to be slaves while we boast of our freedom, to suffer our necks to be pinched with the yoke, till we can hardly wheeze out our vaunts about *liberty and independence!* this is a state to be envied only by the guilty miscreant at the bottom of his dungeon.

* *Farmer Giles* “insisted that the French nation had a right “to ask our Commissioners *for what we were arming,*” and, therefore, he wished to pass the amendment, by way of answer to this modest question. But, pray, Farmer, would it not have been as well to let the Commissioners frame their own answer? It is something new, I believe, to prepare and to publish an answer to a question that has not yet been asked. The French have, according to the doctrine of their corrupted faction in this country, *a right* to do any thing and every thing, while *independent America* has a right to do nothing at all. There is no action of the infernal Jacobin despots, which has not been *justified*, even within the walls of Congress; and yet, in this state of things, there are people stupid enough to believe that no sort of danger hangs over us.

Mr.

Mr. W. Smith said, if this amendment were agreed to, it might go farther than it was meant to go. The frigates might not be able to protect the trade of the United States at all. He did not suppose they would be employed in convoying our vessels to the West Indies; but if this provision passed, it would not be possible for them to protect our trade from the Capes of the Delaware to the Capes of Virginia.

Mr. S. Smith said, if he understood the amendment to go to the length which the gentleman from South Carolina represented it to go, he should certainly be opposed to it; but he believed it only went to prevent the frigates from being employed as convoys to foreign ports. Merchants, he said, who carried on a *fair course of trade*, would not ask for convoys; they would wish to run the risk and go alone; for, if they went under convoy, the probability would be, that, from a number of vessels sailing together, they would glut any market to which they might go, and consequently lower the price of their cargoes; but merchants who wished to go into rebel ports, would wish to be convoyed; and the first convoy that went on such a business, he was confident would produce war*.

Mr. Venable said, from what fell from the gentleman from South Carolina, he supposed he would be satisfied with a small amendment. That gentleman supposed that the present amendment would prevent the frigates from convoying our merchant-vessels from one part of the Union to another. This might be remedied, by adding, "to any foreign port or place."

* I cannot help reminding the reader here, that it will be proved, in the course of this work, that the vessels of this Samuel Smith (who is a great merchant at Baltimore) were, at this very time, quietly sailing with *French protections* in the pockets of his Captains! Virtuous republican!

Mr. R. Williams consented to make this a part of his amendment, which, thus modified, was now carried, 47 to 35.

The Committee rose, and the House proceeded to consider the amendments; the first which came under consideration, was that for confining the frigates from being used as convoys.

Mr. Sitgreaves hoped this amendment would not prevail. He was at a loss to account for the change of sentiment in the House since yesterday; he thought it was then the opinion that they ought to provide the force, and, when provided, leave it to the disposal of the Executive; and that if he thought proper to employ the frigates in the protection of our commerce beyond the jurisdiction line, he should be authorized to do so. He yet entertained this opinion. It was a little extraordinary, he said, that those gentlemen who had, on a former occasion, quoted the articles of the armed neutrality, should forget one of the most important; he meant that which sanctioned the right of convoying their trade in time of peace, to protect their neutrality against the aggressions of belligerent powers; which doctrine had, by a solemn act of her Government, been acquiesced in by France. This being the case, and seeing that the President of the United States, in his speech at the opening of the session, had declared his opinion, that vessels ought to be provided as a convoy to our commerce, and knowing no principle in the law of nations to the contrary, he was surprised the right should be called in question. He hoped no act of that House would justify such a sentiment. Another glaring inconsistency. Gentlemen admitted that the frigates were to be employed for the protection and defence of our commerce; but he asked how this could be effected, if they were not to be employed in the way of convoys? He did not mean for a number of ships

ships together, but for single vessels. But it was said that citizens who carried on an honest trade, would not ask a convoy. How did this appear? If there had been none such, he would allow that there was no necessity for a convoy or naval force; but, if there had been aggressions, they must have been upon the fair trade of this country, and persons employed in this trade were entitled to protection. Why, he asked, were they always told of our commerce being forced into the rebel ports in the West Indies, and that war would be the consequence? Was it to be supposed that the President would wantonly go into this business. He hoped they should do what the circumstances of the country required, and not profusely lavish money which could answer no good purpose, since the injuries committed within our jurisdiction, compared to those sustained upon the high seas, were not worthy of being named.—If any protection was given, therefore, it should be extended beyond the jurisdiction line. But it was said three frigates were incompetent to the protection of the trade of the United States; but they might be competent to protect a part of it; and if three frigates were not effectual, it was the duty of that House to provide such as would be effectual. But if this force would not be able to meet the naval power of any European country, it would be able to keep off privateers and piccaroons, and therefore be of some service.

Mr. Swanwick said, he felt himself called upon to give his reasons for voting against employing the frigates as a convoy to our trade. He looked upon the force as wholly inadequate. But it was said it might be brought to operate in part. He was, however, afraid that, in attempting an object to which they were not equal, they might, in the West India seas, endanger the loss of the vessels themselves; for, when

the privateers and cruisers in those seas learned that we had frigates out, *they would become more acrimonious than ever* *.

It could not, he said, be supposed that the present war in Europe could be of long duration, nor could it be expected that we should be competent, whilst it lasted, to give complete protection to our commerce; he thought, therefore, it would be much better *to trust entirely to ensurance*, than to risk these vessels as a convoy; and if the trade was not worth carrying on, after having paid the ensurance, *he would give it up*. He wished to avoid taking any measure which might lead to war; for, if that were to take place, we should suffer infinitely more than we now suffer from any depredations committed upon our commerce. Our trade in the West Indies, he said, was in some degree protected by the rival interests of the contending powers in those seas. They had heard (and he owned it was with *no pleasant sensation he heard it*) that *our vessels had sailed under British convoys in that quarter*†; so that the trade, in some degree,

*So that, in order to keep the rascally pirates in a good humour, and ensure their forbearance, we are to keep our frigates within gun-shot of the shore! Why then, Monsieur Swanwick, in the name of all that's crawling, swindling, and treacherous, why did you vote for the appropriations for equipping and manning these frigates, if you thought "it would be better *to trust entirely to ensurance, than risk them as a convoy*?"

The loss of one of our frigates, he said, he should most *sensibly* regret, "as it would cast *a damp on the germ* of our navy." You are no farmer, Monsieur, or you would have known that *moisture* cast on the *germ* of any thing tends to make it *grow and flourish*. It must be confessed that the little man, silly as he is, has fallen upon a certain method of preserving our frigates from being either captured or beat. If they never go out of the reach of our batteries, the devil's in it if any body can take them. However, in this case, the expense of guns might certainly be saved. A man of straw wants nothing better than a dagger of lath.

† Hear this, ye gulls of merchants, who voted him into Congress, and acknowledge that he treats you as you deserved! He is an Englishman!

gree, protected itself by the interest which it holds out to the parties. If the frigates were to be employed as convoys, he did not believe the rates of insurance would at all be lowered; for he did not find that even the British, with all the force they had in the West Indies, could effectually protect their merchant-vessels against the French privateers. Besides, he should look upon the loss of one of the frigates as a very unfortunate occurrence; it would cast a *damp* upon *the germ of our navy*, and would be a discouragement to the voting of any more money for that object. This he should *most sensibly regret*. The frigates might be of some use in the protection of our coasts and jurisdiction, without running any of the risks which he thought would be run in sending them out as convoys. Coming from *a large commercial city, as he did*, he should never be backward in his support of an effectual naval establishment; but, for the present, he thought it best to keep the frigates about our coast.

Mr. Gallatin said, as he meant to vote against the passing of the bill, he would briefly state his reason for doing so. He knew only of two arguments in favour of the bill; the first, that it was necessary during a time of peace to lay the foundation of a navy; the other was, that the frigates being built, it would

Englishman! His father was a pensioner of King George; and his mother, who lives under his roof, and whose loaf he shares, now is, I believe, a pensioner of the same King; yet the rancour he entertains against his generous King and country is such, that he would rather your vessels were to the very last seized and condemned, your sailors rotting in French dungeons, and yourselves reduced to his own miserable situation, than that you should derive protection from a British ship of war! Yes, we know that you "come from *a large commercial city*," and all the world knows it to our shame. I look upon this boast as a premeditated insult, as a species of defiance to the people of property in this city; and if it does not at another election produce the proper effect, we deserve to be yoked by pairs, and sold like cattle at the market.

be proper to man them. As to the propriety of having a navy, he did not mean to go generally into the subject; but he would make a few observations as to our situation for engaging in an establishment of this kind. Suppose that navies were necessary in European nations to increase their power or to protect their commerce, these considerations did not apply to our present circumstances. In order to prove this, it was only necessary to take a view of our revenue and the expense of a fleet. The amount of revenue from the 1st of April, 1796, to the 1st of April, 1797, received in the Treasury, was 7,400,000 dollars; a sum which by far exceeded that of any former year: and he did not think that the permanent revenue of the United States could be well expended beyond that sum. For instance, he did not think that nine millions could be raised from the people without oppression. Indeed, by the best calculations of the quantity of circulating medium in the country, it was not allowed to exceed eight millions; and he did not believe that any nation could raise a larger sum in taxes than was equal to the amount of their circulating specie. He should therefore vote against this bill, because he did not believe we could raise revenue equal to the expense of supporting a fleet; for, although we had a large capital in land, we had but a small quantity of circulating medium; and from our scattered situation, that medium circulated much slower than in smaller compact countries; and it must be allowed that the quantity of revenue which could be raised depended on the amount of circulating medium.

Mr. Giles said he should vote against the passing of the bill. He thought a navy would be a great evil for this country. Our great interest lay in the soil; and if ever the vitals of the country were to be drawn together for the purpose of protecting our commerce

commerce on the sea, he should greatly lament it. He believed the despotism of nations kept pace according to the ratio of expence of their Government. He was sorry to say that he was more and more convinced that it was the constant aim of some gentlemen in that House to increase the expenses of our Government. The propriety of establishing a navy had scarcely been ever seriously considered; it was first begun under an alarm, and it had been continually carried on by the same means. Mr. G. adverted to the methods employed to raise men by pressing in all countries where navies are established; and insisted that navies and press-gangs were inseparable; for, said he, the wages of seamen are now thirty dollars a month, and when men are wanted for the frigates, the price will doubtless be increased, and the press-gang must be resorted to, or the navy must be abandoned.

Mr. Harper agreed that our Government depended upon the affections of the people for its support; but how were these affections to be gained? It was by protecting them with a dignified, enlarged, and confirmed policy. By these means the country would become strong; and if the people saw their Government, from the paltry idea of expence, abandon its rights, they would not care what became of it. The principles of the gentleman from Pennsylvania would be correct, if national rights, dignity, and honour could be settled by counting-house calculations. If so, all governments might be abandoned; no public measure could be carried into effect: since it could not be said of any, that it produced as much money as it cost; but if they were useful in protecting the rights and liberties of the country, they were certainly more to be prized than money. He denied that navies in every country were supported by press-gangs; those of Holland, Sweden,
Denmark,

Denmark, France*, and Portugal, were supported without impressment; and in England, a very small proportion of the men employed on board their fleet were impressed. It was only on sudden emergencies that this practice was resorted to. All that would be necessary in this country, would be, to give somewhat higher wages than the British. He hoped, therefore, the bill would pass.

Mr. Nicholas had always been of opinion that the expense of these frigates was a useless expense; he did not believe a case could happen, except within our own jurisdiction, where these vessels could be of advantage to us; but, notwithstanding this was his opinion, he should vote for the passing of this bill, because he saw the sentiment of that House and of the public was strongly in its favour, from a persuasion that the measure was necessary, and that the thing would be a continual topic of dispute until it was carried into effect. He was willing, therefore, to let the vessels go to sea, believing that nothing short of actual experience would convince the supporters of this measure that it was useless, expensive, and injurious; and hoping that, after one year's experience of the plaything, finding money was of greater value than the frigates, all parties would concur in the relinquishing it.

Mr. Sewall said, that the arguments which had been used against this bill for the protection of the trade of the United States, went to show that commerce was useless, and that the protection of it would be expensive beyond any profit which could be derived from it; and some who voted for the passing of the bill did it from the professed motive of giving the thing a trial, that it might afterwards be abandoned. Gentlemen who depend upon agriculture for every thing,

* *Mr. Harper* was certainly joking about France. They have no need to *press* in that free country, where the whole people of the country are in a state of *requisition*, which is no other than a state of *impressment*.

he said, need not put themselves to the expence of protecting the commerce of the country; commerce was able to protect itself if they would only suffer it to do so. Let those States who live by commerce be separated by the Confederacy—(Mr. Varnum wished to know if this was in order.) Mr. S. went on. He had in his eye people who lived by commerce, and he could not understand that they lived by the mere good will of the Union.—Let them, said he, be abandoned: but let it be done before they are reduced to poverty and wretchedness. Their collected industry and poverty were equal to their own protection; and let other parts of the Confederacy take care of themselves.

After some further debate, the amendment restraining the President from employing the frigates as convoys, was put, and carried, 70 to 25. The bill then passed.

When, however, the bill, thus haggled and mutilated, came before the *Senate*, they, without much hesitation, sent it back with disdain. This furnished an excellent opportunity for the French faction to endeavour to defeat the bill altogether; and, therefore, the amendments of the Senate were no sooner read, than *New*, of Virginia, moved to postpone all further consideration of the subject to the first Monday in November.

This motion having been rejected, the amendments were taken up, beginning with the principal one, viz. that respecting *convoys*. The Senate would not agree to prohibit the President from employing the frigates as convoys. *Nicholas* moved that the House should *insist*; and his motion was lost but by *one* vote. A motion was then made from the other side of the House to *recede*; but this was lost also, and a middle course was determined on. A Committee was appointed to confer with the Senate on the subject of the difference; the result of which conference was,

was, the Senate agreed to recede from all their other amendments, but from that respecting *convoys* they would not recede.

The bill was now taken up for the last time in the House of Representatives; and after very strenuous efforts on the part of the French to defeat it altogether, it was put to the vote, and carried (with the Senate's amendment), 57 to 47 *.

Spanish Affairs.—The treaty with Spain, which was concluded just after the treaty with Great Britain was made, makes provision for the mode of settling the dispute, which had long existed, respecting the boundary line between the territories of Spain and those of the United States. There is no doubt but this business would have been settled very amicably; but, after the treaty was made, and before the American Commissioner went off in order to run the line, the poor King of Spain had made peace with France; and it was doubtless by the order of the villains of Paris, that every difficulty was thrown in the way of the American Commissioner.—The following reports of the Secretary of State give a full account of the matter.

Department of State, June 10, 1797.

The Secretary of State respectfully reports to the President of the United States the substance of the information received the 8th inst. from Andrew Ellcott, Esq. the Commissioner of the United States appointed to run the boundary line between their territory and his Catholic Majesty's colonies of East and West Florida.

* If any proofs were wanting of the existence of a French faction, of the existence of a powerful French influence in America, the debates on this bill have most amply furnished it. If the French despots had had representatives in the Congress, they could not have discovered more zeal in their cause than was discovered by nearly one half of the members,

Although

Although Mr. Ellicott left Philadelphia in September, 1796, to proceed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to the Natchez, the place appointed by the treaty with Spain; at which the Commissioners of the two Governments were to meet; yet, owing to the lowness of the waters of the Ohio, he did not reach its mouth until the 19th day of December: two days after which, both the Ohio and Mississippi were almost frozen over. On the 21st of January the ice began to give way, and their store-boat arriving on the 28th, they proceeded on the 31st for the Natchez. On the 21st February Mr. Ellicott received a letter from his Catholic Majesty's Governor, Gayoso de Lemos, dated at the Natchez the 17th February, mentioning the information he had received of his approaching arrival, attended by a military guard and some woodsmen; and desiring that the troops might be left about the mouth of Bayon Pierre; assigning for his reason, that thereby every unforeseen misunderstanding between the troops of the two powers would be prevented. With this request, from views of accommodation, Mr. Ellicott complied. Bayon Pierre is about 60 miles above the Natchez.

On the 24th February Mr. Ellicott reached the Natchez, and immediately by a letter acquainted Governor Gayoso of his arrival. The Governor on the same day returned an answer. The day following they had an interview, and fixed on the 19th of March to proceed down the river to Clarksville, near which it was supposed the line would commence. The Monday following, February 27th, Mr. Ellicott wrote a letter to the Baron de Carondelet, his Catholic Majesty's Governor General of Louisiana, and the Commissioner named by the Court of Spain for ascertaining the boundary line, to inform him of his arrival at the Natchez as the Commissioner of the United States. The Baron's answer, dated
March

March 1st, was received the 9th; and on the same day Governor Gayoso waited on Mr. Ellicott, and informed him that the Baron, in consequence of interesting concerns below, had declined to attend, and that the whole business had devolved on him. Mr. Ellicott expressed his satisfaction, because he expected that he (Governor Gayoso) would be immediately ready to proceed. The Governor answered, "No time shall be lost; but I fear I shall not be ready by the 19th; and although the Baron declines acting on account of the business which demands his constant attention at Orleans, he is, nevertheless, desirous of having an interview with you; and, for that purpose, has ordered a galley to be fitted up for your use and accommodation to New-Orleans."--Mr. Ellicott considered that the third article of the treaty with Spain required the Commissioners for running the boundary line to meet at Natchez; and then, being at this post, it was his duty to remain there until the Spanish Commissioner should be ready to proceed with him to the place where the line should commence; and therefore he declined the Baron's invitation.

On the 27th February Mr. Ellicott encamped at the upper end of the town of Natchez, about a quarter of a mile from the fort occupied by the Spanish troops; and two days after hoisted the flag of the United States. Upon this he received a verbal message from Governor Gayoso, by his Aid, Major Minor, desiring the flag might be taken down; which Mr. Ellicott declined doing. The request was not repeated. Here Mr. Ellicott began his astronomical observations, and found the hill on which he was encamped, to be in latitude $31^{\circ} 33' 46''$, or about 39 miles north of the south boundary of the United States.

In this situation Mr. Ellicott was told alarming stories about the unfavourable disposition of the Indians,

dians, under an idea that the United States were meditating their destruction. The whole settlement was for some days swarming with them; and they frequently went about his camp with drawn knives. For his own safety, he frequently issued provisions to them. Thus critically circumstanced, he, on the 11th of March, wrote to Governor Gayoso the letter to which he received the answer. But in the mean time Mr. Ellicott had sent an express to the commanding officer of his escort (consisting of only twenty-five men), which, in complaisance to the Governor's first request, he had left sixty miles up the river, to come down directly to the Natchez. And being determined not to countermand this order, he, on the 13th, wrote to Governor Gayoso the letter, proposing Bacon's Landing, about a mile below his camp, for the station of his escort; but before this letter was sent he had an interview with the Governor, who undertook to prove the propriety and necessity of the whole party from the United States going down to Clarke's Place, and closed his reasoning by observing, that if the escort did land at the Natchez he should consider it as an insult offered to the King his master. Mr. Ellicott then telling the Governor that he should send him immediately an answer in writing, observed, that the desire which was constantly manifested to draw him from that place (the Natchez) appeared singular, as it was designated in the late treaty between his Catholic Majesty and the United States, as the place of meeting for the Commissioners; and, therefore, that he should reject every proposition that was intended to draw him from his present situation, until the Commissioner and Surveyor on behalf of the Crown of Spain were ready to proceed to business. To which the Governor replied, "Sir, you either mistake my meaning, or I have expressed myself very badly. "I do not want you to leave this place, but, on the contrary,

“ contrary, I am desirous for you to take up your
“ residence in my home; you will live there much
“ more comfortably than in a tent.” Mr. Ellicott
said that his tent was much more agreeable than a
palace; for in his camp he enjoyed an independence
characteristic of the nation he had the honour to re-
present. The next morning Mr. Ellicott sent his
letter, and the same day received the Governor’s
answer, expressing his entire satisfaction with Mr.
Ellicott’s sentiments, as uniformly agreeing with his
own, in every thing which could combine the mutual
interests of the two nations.

The evening following, March 15, Mr. Ellicott’s
escort arrived at the Landing, and the next day went
down to the place he had proposed for their station.

The officer of the escort having found in the settle-
ment a number of deserters from the American army,
took them up: this occasioned some verbal commu-
nications between Governor Gayoso and Mr. Ellicott,
the former desiring the deserters might be dismissed.
Mr. Ellicott thereupon proposed this arrangement:
that such deserters from the army of the United States
as came into that country, and took the protection
of the Spanish Government prior to the time fixed
by the treaty for the evacuation of the posts, should,
for the present, remain unmolested; but that such as
had come to that country since that time should be
liable to be taken and detained.

About the time Mr. Ellicott’s escort arrived, the
principal part of the artillery was taken out of the
fort and carried to the Landing, and every appearance
made of a speedy evacuation; but on the 22d of
March great industry was used in carrying cannon
back to the fort, which were immediately remounted.
This gave great alarm to the inhabitants of the dis-
trict, who generally manifested a desire of being de-
clared subjects of the United States, and at once to
renounce the Spanish jurisdiction. In order to quiet
the

the minds of the inhabitants, and to be able to give them some reasons for the Governor's conduct, which now began to be considered as hostile to the United States, Mr. Ellicott, on the 23d of March, wrote the letter which was followed by a note, to which he received the Governor's answer. This answer containing information that the important business of running the boundary line should soon be commenced, and an assurance that nothing could prevent the religious compliance with the treaty, Mr. Ellicott expressed his satisfaction in his letter to the Governor, No. 12.

It being now reported that the American troops would be down in a few days, the Governor sent by his Aid, to Mr. Ellicott, an open letter from the Governor directed to Captain Pope, who, it was said, commanded those troops, informing him that for fundry reasons it would be proper and conducive to the harmony of the two nations, for himself and the detachment under his command to remain at or near the place where the letter should meet him, until the posts should be evacuated; and as every preparation was making for that purpose, the delay would be but a few days, when he would be happy to see him at the Natchez. This proposal to Captain Pope, the Governor, in his letter, desired Mr. Ellicott to second. Upon reading the letter Mr. Ellicott observed to Major Minor, that it was impossible for him to join in the Governor's request to Captain Pope, as it was well known to him (Mr. Ellicott), that, instead of evacuating the posts, they were making them more defensible. However, Mr. Ellicott said he would write a letter to the officer commanding the detachment, and requested Major Minor (as he was to be the bearer of the Governor's letter to the Walnut Hills) to take charge of it; to which he had no objection.

On the 28th of March the Governor issued the proclamation bearing the date of March 29th, and another bearing the same date, with the avowed object of quieting the minds of the inhabitants; but they produced a contrary effect. As soon as the Governor discovered this, he requested two gentlemen of the settlement to inform Mr. Ellicott that he, the Governor, had received directions from the General in Chief, the Baron de Carondelet, to have the artillery and military stores expeditiously removed from the forts, which were immediately to be given up to the troops of the United States upon their arrival. Great pains were taken to inculcate this report; but it did not remove suspicions. In order, therefore, to obtain a direct explanation, Mr. Ellicott, on the 31st of March, wrote to the Governor the letter, enclosing two paragraphs of an address he had received from a number of respectable inhabitants of the district. The Governor's answer, of the same date, confirmed every suspicion, as it contained an explicit declaration, that his General had given him positive orders to suspend the evacuation of the posts until the two Governments should determine whether the works were to be left standing or to be demolished; and until, by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants should be secured, agreeably to his proclamation, in which the Governor thought proper to tell the inhabitants that negotiations were on foot between his Catholic Majesty and the United States, for the adjustment of that other matter. It may not be improper to remark that no such negotiation had existed, and that this is the first time that these objections to the evacuation of the posts have been heard of. This peremptory declaration of Governor Gayoso requires no comment.

Mr. Ellicott says, that, with the exception of about eight persons, including some officers, all the inhabitants

bitants of the Natchez district (within the limit of the United States) are desirous of coming under their jurisdiction, and to have a government established there, similar to that north-west of the river Ohio. My inquiries enable me to add, that the population amounts to nearly four thousand souls.

Mr. Ellicott further informs that he has not only reason to believe, but is certain, that many grants for lands in that district have been given out by the officers of the Government of Louisiana, since the ratification of the late treaty, and that their surveyors are now executing the surveys.

On the 18th of April, when Mr. Ellicott was folding up his dispatches, he received from Governor Gayoso the letter complaining of the enlistment of persons in that district as an infringement of the rights of his Catholic Majesty; and requesting that the persons enlisted might be discharged; to which Mr. Ellicott immediately returned an answer, observing that the matter required investigation; but assuring Governor Gayoso that he would be careful neither to infringe the rights of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, nor willingly suffer those of the citizens of the United States to be infringed.

The bearer of Mr. Ellicott's dispatches informs me, that before he left the Natchez they had heard that two gun-boats were preparing at New-Orleans to bring up reinforcements; and since his arrival I have received information which, connected with this detail of facts, is entitled to belief—that about the 10th of May, three large boats full of troops, besides a party by land, set off from New-Orleans for the Natchez—it was added, for the purpose of driving off the continental troops that had taken possession, agreeably to the late treaty.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Additional Report of the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, of the Proceedings of the Officers of his Catholic Majesty, in relation to the Posts occupied by his Troops within the Limits of the United States, the Boundary Line, and other Matters therewith connected.

On Thursday last, the 29th of June, I received farther dispatches from Andrew Ellicott, Esq. the Commissioner of the United States at the Natchez, dated the 10th of May last, of which an extract and copies, numbered one, two, and three, are subjoined. By these it appears, that a new motive has been assigned by the Commander in Chief, the Baron de Carondelet, and Governor Gayoso, for still retaining the possession of the posts of the Natchez and Walnut Hills, and for strengthening the fortifications, viz. *to guard against an attack by the British from Canada.* This motive being derived from information communicated to the Baron de Carondelet by the Chevalier de Yrujo, the Minister of his Catholic Majesty to the United States, it appears necessary again to bring before the President my correspondence with the Spanish and British Ministers on that subject.

Although the Minister declared he had just reasons for suspecting an expedition from Canada was preparing by the British against the upper parts of Louisiana, yet he never mentioned a single fact or reason on which his suspicion was founded. From all the existing circumstances, I ever believed the suspicion to be groundless; and the note of Mr. Liston, the British Minister, of the 19th last month, declares that no such expedition has been, or is intended by the British Government.

On the 16th of March last, by the President's direction, I inquired of the Minister of his Catholic Majesty whether the Spanish troops had been withdrawn, agreeably to the treaty, from the territory of the

the United States ; and if not, what orders or measures for withdrawing them had been taken. To this the Minister answered on the 17th of April, that not having for some months heard from the Baron de Carondelet, he was “ deprived of any information “ touching the steps taken for the execution of the “ treaty.” Nevertheless he had previously informed the Baron de Carondelet of his suspicions of a projected expedition from Canada ; for on the 1st of May it is offered by Governor Gayoso as a new reason for continuing to hold the posts.

On the 24th of June last, the Minister of his Catholic Majesty wrote me the letter, in which he undertakes to give the substance of two letters from the Baron de Carondelet, and which about a week before he had orally translated to me from the Spanish originals. These letters (as appears by the detail of them now given by the Minister) exhibited divers complaints against Mr. Ellicott, whose conduct is assigned as the cause of an alleged misunderstanding between him and Governor Gayoso, and of the delay in commencing the running of the boundary line.

One article, however, the Minister has omitted in his recital. The Baron de Carondelet complained, among other things, that Mr. Ellicott had not given him notice of his arrival at the Natchez as the Commissioner on the part of the United States for running the boundary line between their territories and those of Spain. I was astonished at this complaint, as I had then lying on my table Mr. Ellicott's letter to the Baron, dated the 27th of February, only three days after Mr. Ellicott's arrival at the Natchez, announcing his arrival as the Commissioner of the United States for the object above expressed, and two copies of the Baron's answer, dated at New-Orleans the 1st of March, one of the original Spanish, and the other a translation in English, acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Ellicott's letter, and

“ congratulating him on his arrival in that country
“ in the character of Commissioner on the part of
“ the United States, to run the dividing line between
“ the territories of his Catholic Majesty and the
“ United States.” I immediately presented these
copies to the Minister, in whom the repugnance of
fact to assertion excited the natural sensation; but
soon recollecting himself, he made this apology for
the Baron, that he supposed that he did not consider
Mr. Ellicott’s letter as official. This letter and the
translation of the Baron’s answer have been already
laid before Congress and published.

The facts I have here stated relative to the com-
plaint of the Baron de Carondelet, which the Spanish
Minister has omitted in his detail, appeared to me
important to be laid before you, to be considered
together with the other complaints which the Minister
has recited. As to the complaint that Mr. Ellicott
“ attempted to get possession of the Natchez fort by
“ surprise, and that the Governor Gayoso has in
“ his power documents which evidently prove the
“ intention of that attempt;” I have examined the
two gentlemen who have brought Mr. Ellicott’s dis-
patches, and they declare that they never heard of
such an attempt being made or intended by Mr. El-
licott; and that, far from exciting disaffection to
the Spanish Government in the minds of the inha-
bitants of Natchez, he uniformly recommended pa-
tience and submission, until the Spanish jurisdiction
should be withdrawn.

Upon a view of the whole correspondence, now
and before submitted to the President, it appears that
the Governors of his Catholic Majesty on the Mis-
sissippi have, on various pretences, postponed the
running of the boundary line, and the withdrawing
of his troops from the posts they occupied within the
territory of the United States; that after repeated
overtures, promises, and appearances of commencing
the

the execution of the treaty between the two nations, in both those respects, their conduct demonstrates that for an indefinite period they mean to avoid doing either; that there is but too much reason to believe Mr. Ellicott's suspicions well founded, that an undue influence has been exercised over the Indians by the officers of his Catholic Majesty, to prepare them for a rupture with the United States; these suspicions corresponding with other intelligence recently received by the Secretary of War, and by me. Mine is by a private letter from Colonel Sargent, the Secretary of the territory north-west of the river Ohio.

Whether this plan of exciting the Indians to direct hostilities against the United States has been contemplated and promoted by any of our own citizens, it may be difficult to say; but that one or more of those citizens have proposed and taken measures to detach the southern Indians from the interests of the United States, and to destroy the influence of the public agents over those nations, and thus to defeat the great objects of their appointment, the chief of which is to preserve peace, is certain. The evidence of this important fact will be laid before you by the Secretary of War. That evidence having a reference to the British Minister and his Government, I took the liberty of addressing to him a letter, dated the 1st instant, to which I received an answer.

As closely connected with this business, I lay before you the copy of my letter, dated the 27th of April last, to Charles Jackson, Esq. the District Attorney of Georgia, reciting a passage in a letter from the Spanish Minister, dated the 21st of April, declaring his positive knowledge that the English had made propositions to General Clarke of Georgia, to obtain his influence in that State, in conjunction with some persons who might make a diversion or serious attack against Florida. By Mr. Jackson's answer, from

which an extract is herewith presented, it appears, that, after diligent inquiry, he could not find any person that knew any thing of the business, or that entertained a belief of the kind: and that from General Clarke's known violent antipathies to the English, and other circumstances, he doubted the truth of the report altogether*.

All which is respectfully submitted.

Department of State, TIMOTHY PICKERING.

July 3, 1797.

French Depredations.—In consequence of a resolution of the House of Representatives, calling for information respecting the depredations on the commerce of the country, the following report was laid before them.

Report of the Secretary of State, respecting the Depredations committed on the Commerce of the United States, since the 1st of October, 1796. American

* There are certain miscreants in this country who have the impudence to talk of the bad faith of Great Britain; but let them now compare her conduct, in the execution of treaties, with that of the *natural allies*. The forts she possessed were delivered up to an hour, and every other part of the treaty she punctually adheres to, while France is in the open violation of her treaty, after having long enjoyed its benefits, and while Spain pays no more attention to hers than if it were a ballad or a farce. And yet we find wretches impudent and vile enough to endeavour to perpetuate an ill-founded, and, to us, destructive prejudice against Britain; a nation whose friendship is of inestimable value, and not more valuable than sincere. Had Great Britain detained the Western posts but a day beyond the time fixed for their delivery; had she behaved to our officers as the Spaniards have to Mr. Ellicott, what execrations would not have been vomited forth against her! Mr. Dayton (the honest Speaker) would have had his confiscating irons in the fire in a moment, and Monsieur Smith, of Baltimore, would have again called forth "the American youth, whose *independent hearts beat high for an opportunity to signalize their valour.*" But now that the insult, the wrong, come from the Spaniards and the French, it is all very well. Not a single voice is raised to vilify and to curse; the American youth are as gentle as lambs; their hearts, which whilom beat so high, now lie as lumpish as a steel dumpling.

vessels

vessels have been captured since the 1st of October, 1796, by the armed vessels of Spain, Great Britain, and France. Of captures by Spanish cruisers, one was the polacre Independence, Captain Robertson, laden wholly on account of the United States, with stores for Algiers, in pursuance of the treaty with that regency: she was taken on the 16th of February last, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar, and carried into Cadiz. The polacre's papers were perfectly clear; among others, she had a special passport under the hand of the President of the United States, and the great seal thereof, declaring the vessel to be the property of two citizens of the United States (whose names were inserted in the passport), and that the cargo was wholly the property of the United States, and destined for Algiers. She had also the passport of the Dey. The General of the Marine had cleared the polacre and cargo, but the owners of the privateer appealed to the tribunal at Madrid, and on the 31st of March there had been no decision known at Cadiz.

There have probably been a number of captures by Spanish cruisers, although not particularly specified: the Consul of the United States in one of the ports of Spain, having informed that almost daily American vessels were taken and brought in by French and Spanish privateers.

Captures and losses by British cruisers, the Secretary presumes, *have not been numerous*: for the citizens of the United States having, these three years past, been accustomed to look up to the Government for aid in prosecuting their claims, it is not to be doubted that generally these cases have been reported to the Department of State. An abstract of such as have been communicated is annexed.

In order to present a clearer view of French depredations, it will be necessary to notice the rules which she has prescribed to her cruisers and tribunals.

As applicable to captures made since last October, the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July, 1796, merits the first attention. It announces that the conduct of France towards neutrals will be regulated by the manner in which they should suffer the English to treat them. At Malaga and Cadiz, the French Consuls have interpreted this decree to authorize the capture and condemnation of American vessels, for the single circumstance of their being destined to a British port. But its fullest effect has been produced in the West Indies, whose seas swarm with privateers and gun-boats, which have been called forth by the latitude allowed to their depredations by the indefinite terms of that decree and the explanatory orders of the agents of the Directory at Guadaloupe and St. Domingo. Two of these decrees have been already communicated to Congress*, and it may be only requisite here to refer to them.

At Guadaloupe an order was issued by Victor Hugues and Lebas, dated the 1st of February last, authorizing the capture and condemnation of all neutral vessels bound to certain enumerated ports, which it is pretended in the decree were delivered up to the English, and are occupied and defended by emigrants; and also of such vessels as should be cleared out generally for the West Indies. This decree refers to and enforces a decree of the 24th of December, 1796, issued in conformity with the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July, 1796, so far as it is not departed from by the decree of the 27th of February last. The decree of the 24th of December has not been received at the Department of State; but is supposed to direct the confiscation of the cargoes of neutral vessels bound to or from

* In the report of the Secretary of State, dated the 27th of Feb. 1797.

British ports, occupied by them before the present war. For it appears, that whilst they have confiscated both vessels and cargo, in cases which fall within the scope of the decree of the 1st of February, they have spared the vessel, and confiscated only the cargo, where she had been bound to or from such acknowledged British port.

The agents of the Directory at Cape François, by their decree of the 27th November last, direct the capture and bringing into port of *American* vessels bound to or from British ports, there to remain until it should be further ordered. This further order was afterwards issued ; it will appear by the copy of the condemnation of the ship *Pattern*, of New-York, by which it will be seen, that, like the Consuls at Malaga and Cadiz, they interpret the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July last, as authorizing the condemnation of American vessels, merely because bound to or from a British port.

To the foregoing succeeded the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d March last, which has been communicated to Congress during the present session. That copy of the decree was taken from a newspaper, and is now found to be imperfect. A translation from the decree, as officially published by the Directory, is annexed to this report. Although we do not yet know what is its operation, yet it cannot fail to produce very great vexation and loss to the American commerce ; the documents it requires to prevent confiscations, not having been before declared indispensable, or demanded, and no time being allowed for the vessels of the United States to provide themselves therewith.

Besides these several decrees, and others which, being more limited, the former have superadded, the old marine ordinances of France have been revived, and enforced with severity, both in Europe and in the West Indies. The want of, or informality in a bill

bill of lading—the want of a certified list of the passengers and crew—the supercargo being by birth a foreigner, although a naturalized citizen of the United States—the destruction of a paper of any kind soever—and the want of a sea-letter, have been deemed sufficient to warrant a condemnation of American property, although the proofs of the property were indubitable.

The West Indies, as before remarked, have exhibited the most lamentable scenes of depredation.—Indeed, the conduct of the public agents and of the commissioned cruisers there, has surpassed all former examples. The American vessels have not only been captured under the decrees before mentioned, but, when brought to trial in the French tribunals, the vessels and cargoes have been condemned, without admitting the owners or their agents to make any defence.

This seems to be done systematically, and for the obvious purpose of ensuring condemnations. By this monstrous abuse in judicial proceedings, frauds and falsehoods, as well as flimsy and shameless pretexts, pass unexamined and uncontradicted, and are made the foundation of sentences and condemnation.

The persons also of our citizens have been beaten, insulted, and cruelly imprisoned; and in the forms used towards prisoners of war, they have been exchanged with the British for Frenchmen. American property going to, or coming from, neutral or even French ports, has been seized: it has even been forcibly taken when *in their own ports*, without any pretence, or no other than that they wanted it. At the same time, their cruisers are guilty of wanton and barbarous excesses, by detaining, plundering, firing at, burning, and distressing American vessels.

Official papers to prove the very numerous depredations on our commerce, and the atrocities and abuses

abuses attending the capture and condemnation of our vessels and cargoes by French cruizers and tribunals, not having been publicly called for, few have been received. Of former claims for injuries committed since the beginning of 1793, and of which a report was made to the House of Representatives on the 27th of February last, a very small proportion had been satisfied; and for a considerable time no payments had been obtained. Under this distant and discouraging prospect of obtaining compensation, the citizens suffering by more recent French depredations, have generally omitted to present accounts of their losses; and they have in many cases had no opportunity of getting the evidence of the condemnations, which are attainable before the tribunals of other nations; the mock-trials, as before observed, being very often carried on, and sentences of condemnation pronounced, in the absence of the American owner, master, or supercargo.

Such documents as the Department of State is possessed of, concerning these depredations, are annexed; and to them is added a concise abstract of the cases. These support the principal facts above stated, and show the nature of French depredations. To supply, in some measure, the want of official papers, an examination has been made of two newspapers published in Philadelphia—the Gazette of the United States, and the Philadelphia Gazette, from the 1st of July, 1796, to the present time. Between the 1st of July and the 1st of October few captures were made, the decree of the Directory of July the 2d, not being in general operation until October.—This examination was chiefly made prior to the call of the House of Representatives for a report on this subject, with a view to ascertain the number of French captures, and the circumstances attending them; and the result of the whole is annexed. It is regretted, that the time did not permit a re-examination of those
papers,

papers, to ascertain likewise the captures made by the British cruisers. The editors of those two gazettes agree in saying, that no great attention was paid to the subject, for the purpose of inserting accounts of all the captures which were published in the various other newspapers; yet the number collected exceeds three hundred, of which but few escape condemnation. The evidence arising from the multiplied and concurrent publications of these facts in the newspapers, some of them certified by the American masters of the captured vessels, cannot fail of producing a conviction of the reality of the evils represented.

There have been frequent accounts of attempts to effect condemnations, by bribing the officers and seamen of our vessels to swear falsely; but it was reserved to times when offered bribes were refused; and threats despised, to endeavour to accomplish the object by *torture*. This was inflicted by a French privateer. The evidence of the fact appears in the protest of Captain William Martin, Master of the ship *Cincinnati*, of Baltimore; in which he is supported by the testimony of his mate, and one of his seamen. A copy of the protest is annexed, together with an extract of a letter from Mr. King, Minister of the United States in London, who examined Captain Martin's thumbs, and says, *the marks of the torturing screws will go with him to his grave.*

All which is respectfully submitted.

TIMOTHY PICKERING*.

Department of State,
June 21, 1797.

It

* Extract from the Protest of Captain Martin.—“ And the said Master for himself now saith, that the officer and crew of the latter vessel examined the papers respecting his said vessel and her lading, and expressed no doubt that the ship was an American,

It will be remembered that the democratic members had called for a report of this sort, respecting British depredations; but the President thought it best to send them one, including those of their friends the French also. It may easily be supposed that they felt much alarmed at the prospect of the publication of a report like this; but, certainly, no one, not thoroughly acquainted with their impudent devotion to France, would have thought it possible for them to attempt to prevent such a publication. This, however, they scrupled not to do, and Giles, the brazen-faced Giles, was the leader on the occasion.

The papers having been read, *Mr. Giles* moved, "that the above papers be referred to a *select Committee*, to print such as would be *useful to the House*."

This question was negatived, 50 to 40, and a motion carried for printing *the whole*.

Mr. Giles then called up the motion which had some days ago been laid upon the table, respecting *an adjournment* *.

Blount

rican, but insisted the cargo to be English property, and assured him if he would acknowledge it to be so, his full freight should be paid, and he have a present of one thousand pounds; which overtures the said Master would not pay any other attention to, than declaring the whole property to belong solely to Aquilla Brown, of Baltimore aforesaid, merchant. Whereupon *the French officer thumb-screwed the said Master* in the cabin of the said brig, *kept him in torture to extort a declaration that the said cargo was English property, for nearly four hours*, but without having its desired effect; when a vessel heaving in sight he was liberated from the barbarous punishment he had undergone."

* The opposition members have appeared very anxious to prove, that there is no such thing as a *French faction*: but let any one attend to the proceedings of this day, and then judge for himself. The President sends a message, accompanied with documents, relative to the depredations of the French.—What does *Monf. Giles* do? The moment the papers are read he makes a motion

Blount the Senator.—The last affair of any importance that came before Congress, was the impeachment of *William Blount*. But the proceedings in this business will be better detailed in the summary of the next session of Congress.

Adjournment.—Monday, July 10. On motion of Mr. Dent, a Committee was appointed to wait upon the President of the United States, in conjunction with a like Committee from the Senate, to inform him that the two Houses were about to adjourn. The Committee waited upon the President accordingly, and reported his acquiescence, and his *good wishes for the safe arrival of the members at their several homes*. The House adjourned till the second Monday in November *.

TUESDAY,

motion for referring them to a select Committee, in order to prevent their being publicly debated upon, or published in the newspapers; in order to keep the infamy of the French out of the sight of the people. When the British treaty was on the carpet, this same faction bellowed out for papers; Give us the papers, said they; the people, the sovereign people, ought to be acquainted with every thing; "a republican government ought to have *no secrets*." But now, behold, the people are not to be informed of any thing at all, *because that information must tend to excite a just indignation against France*.

When this smothering motion was lost, and the House determined to have the whole of the papers printed, then Mr. Giles called up the motion *respecting an adjournment*. He saw, I suppose, that, the longer they sat, the more danger there would be, and was therefore willing to get away as soon as possible. Indeed his farm may require his care at the approaching season. Happy man! his fields bear twice a-year. No sooner has he got in one harvest, than another calls for his sickle.

* And thus ended a session of Congress which has cost the country about eighty or ninety thousand dollars, without rendering it one single farthing's worth of service; but which has, on the contrary, done it a vast deal of mischief, by giving the accursed enemy an assurance that we are a divided people, and by degrading the national character in the eyes of the whole world. When American courage and fortitude shall in future be boasted of,

TUESDAY, 11th JULY.

French Perfidy.—Our readers will recollect that the valuable vessel, which has been said to belong to

of, there will not be wanting some one to quote the speeches of a Dayton, a Giles, and a Swanwick. The first declared he was ready to give up *every thing to France*, our independence only excepted; the second thought the best means of averting the “just vengeance of the Republic, was to *abandon all connexion with her enemy* ;” and the last, the Representative of the first city in the Union, did no care how great our concessions were, and had the baseness to say, “that he should have no objection to our Envoy’s “*having the word EQUALITY written on his forehead.*”

The President told them *he wished them safe at their homes*; and I dare say, if the truth were known, he most heartily wished that he might never see their faces again; of the greater part of them, at any rate. I’ll engage he’ll never call them together again, and that the days on which he will, in future, be obliged to meet them, will be the most vexatious of his life.

What a mortification it must have been to him, to follow the House of Representatives through their bickering, faltering, shuffling proceedings! to hear one half of those whom he had called together, to aid him in repelling the assaults of a plundering, ferocious, and insolent enemy, pleading the cause, and openly justifying the conduct of that enemy!

The President might, indeed, derive some consolation from the endeavours of the sound side of the House; but these, so long as they were without effect (and it is to be feared they ever will), only serve to expose us to the derision of the world, by discovering, on every side, and in the most obvious point of view, the rotten, rascally faction, that would have disgraced the Diet of Poland, or the Divan of France.

Titles of Acts passed this Session.

1. An act prohibiting, for a limited time, the exportation of arms and ammunition, and for encouraging the importation thereof.
2. An act to prevent citizens of the United States from privateering against nations in amity with the United States.
3. An act to provide for the further defence of the ports and harbours of the United States.
4. An act authorizing a detachment of the militia of the United States.
5. An act in addition to an act, entitled, “An act concerning the registering and recording ships and vessels.”

6. An

to Messrs. Davy, Roberts, and Co. but which was the sole property of Mr. William Davy, was captured at the mouth of our river, during the truly extraordinary session of Congress. The following facts relative to the capture, are well worthy the attention of our merchants, particularly those who are not yet perfectly cured of the French fever.

This ship was captured off the Capes of Delaware, on the 23d of May last, by the French privateer Le Pandour, Captain Garascan, and sent into Curraçoa. The Captain (Perry) arrived on Tuesday, and informs, that upon their arrival at Curraçoa, he found there a French frigate, the Commander of which, on examination of the Nancy's papers, censured Garascan severely for the capture, as did also the Governor of the place, who, conscious of the illegality of the measure, would suffer no process to be issued.—But, infamous to relate, upon opening the post-office bag, a number of letters were found, *written by Frenchmen in Philadelphia, tending to invalidate every evidence contained in the papers, and basely denouncing the ship and cargo as English property.* The President's speech to Congress, which was also found amongst those letters, was also produced as a certain evidence of an approaching rupture between their nation and America. The vessel was then ordered to another port, notwithstanding every exertion made in her favour by the American Consul, Mr. Philips, and Captain Perry, whose life was threatened if he attempted to go on board. He has brought his protest, and

6. An act directing the appointment of agents, in relation to the sixth article of the British treaty.

7. An act providing a naval armament.

8. An act to ascertain the time for the next meeting of Congress.

9. An act for laying duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper.

other evidences in proof of the above atrocious proceedings. Captain Perry informs, that Garascan appeared to have accurate information of every vessel expected to sail soon from this port, and in particular that he was then looking out for the ship Hindostan, belonging to Messrs. Odier and Bousquet, brothers.

WEDNESDAY, 12th JULY.

Haley, the American Traitor.—We are assured that Captain *Nathan Haley*, who was said to be taken in the *Hare*, was himself the man who conducted her into France. It seems Captain Haley went to France a few days before the ship sailed, and returned. The ship was taken by a boat, and on trial it was necessary to identify the captor, when Captain Haley himself appeared, and proved himself the man, by producing his commission. Captain Haley appears in France in the national uniform of a marine officer, and is fitting out a privateer. A representation of the circumstances of this capture has been made to the proper authorities in France.—This intelligence is from respectable and undoubted authority.

Spanish Minister.—We hear that *Don Sans-culotta de Carmagnola Minor* is preparing another *Diplomatic Blunderbuss*. “Forewarned, forearmed;” but, whether armed or not, it is to be hoped that nothing discharged from that most contemptible quarter will ever scare the people of America.

Celebrations of the 4th July.—The Boston Centinel has the following remark: “The celebrations of the 4th July have been *splendid and dignified*; and if they are the genuine effusions of the hearts

of the celebrators, they *must convince the European world* that it is the fixed determination and ardent wish of Americans to be really *independent* *."

THURSDAY, 13th JULY.

Frenchmen and the Mayor of Norfolk.—The following most curious correspondence is taken from a Norfolk paper of July 6.

The Vice-consul of the French Republic to the Mayor of Norfolk.

SIR,

I cannot pass over in silence the accumulated outrages that have, for this some time past, been com-

* I am sorry to differ in opinion from the Editor of the *Centinel*; but I cannot allow that the *splendid celebrations of the 4th of July will convince the European world* that it is the fixed determination and ardent wish of Americans to be really independent. To know the determination of Americans, the European world will look to the proceedings of Congress, to the sober decisions of the Legislature, and not to the hasty effusions of mirth and intoxication. Every man of sense and experience knows that the valour which is inspired by drink, is very apt to evaporate with the fumes of the liquor. A government, to be assured of the continuance of the support of a company of toasters, must take care to provide them with mountains of viands, and flasks inexhaustible. No; it is not the noise of blank cartridges, issuing from the mouths of a few neglected rusty cannon; it is not the cheers and shouts of the multitude, however often reiterated; it is not strings of toasts and sentiments, whether planned in a childish committee, or starting voluntarily forth from the minds of the *convives*; it is not any or all of these that will convince the world that we are united, steady, and resolute, in defence of our independence. To produce such a conviction, men of property, and of real weight and consequence, must come forward, united like brothers, and openly and boldly declare their resolution to support that government, on the uninterrupted operation of which, the enjoyment of their possessions, and even their very existence, depend. Toasts will make but a feeble resistance to the knives of a Jacobin army, on the points of which the toasters would become the toasted.

mitted

mitted on Frenchmen resident in Norfolk. When insults degenerate into assassinations, patience itself is subdued ; and I am bound to demand vengeance on cowards who unite in troops to oppress and overwhelm a disarmed French officer, and who amply supply in numbers their deficiency in courage. Many complaints of the nature of this have been made to your predecessor in office, but they have remained without answer or effect. I am about to enumerate them, in order that I may not appeal to your severity and rigour before I shall have addressed myself to your justice. In the month of March last, Citizen Barney, Commander of the French frigates, having interposed his authority to appease a riot which had arisen in the streets between some French sailors and some Americans, was insulted, assailed, menaced, pursued to his lodgings, and but for his own firmness and the interposition of the magistrates, his life would have been endangered. The want of witness, and the ignorance of those who were culpable in this affair, prevented at the time a recurrence to justice and to your laws. The day after this scene, the Secretary of the French Consulship walking in the streets with another Frenchman who wore the national cockade, were attacked with stones, and obliged to fly, to prevent being wounded. Since that epoch, the Captain of Marines of the frigate Medusa was assaulted by two men in the middle of the street, who beat him with canes, cut his head, and left him stretched on the spot. In vain did the Commodore demand justice ; justice was not granted. Finally, yesterday after dinner, an officer of the Medusa entering a house of entertainment where a Mr. Saunders (an officer of the fort) was, the latter, after throwing out invectives and imprecations against the French nation, insulted and struck the French officer, reproaching him at the same time with having a sword, while he (Mr. Saunders) had none. The Frenchman directly

gave his hanger to another officer who was present, and repelled the attack in employing only the means that his adversary possessed; but, as he was much the stronger, he had the generosity to quit the unequal contest; and the magistrates making their appearance, he, obedient to their voice, went securely into the street, trusting that the police of the town would keep him clear of assassination. Mr. Saunders followed him, and provoked him with renewed fury. The French officer, in defending himself, overthrew his adversary; and in that instant a hatter, named Johnson, with several workmen, and one Lownes a crockery-ware man, threw themselves on him, beat him, and had well nigh taken his life—not being able to subdue him, they assassinated him. Some Frenchmen in the neighbourhood disengaged the officer, and got him into one of their houses. But his enemy, Saunders, thirsting for blood, pursued him in his retreat, which ought to have been sacred, and pushed his violence and fury to the bursting open the door, in order to snatch his victim from his friends. If such excesses are not severely punished by the magistrates, if strangers in this town are not under the safeguard of the law of nations, if the lives of peaceable Frenchmen wearing the national cockade, or who belong to the service of the Republic, are not protected by the laws of a country for which it ought to be remembered they have shed their blood, I will give information to the French Government of their situation, of their dangers, the repeated insults they receive; and their cause will be the cause of violated humanity, gratitude, and hospitality. I would also observe to you, Sir, respecting the garrison of the fort, that several Frenchmen wearing the national cockade, have complained of having been frequently insulted by the soldiers who compose it. I have now to pray you, Sir, to prosecute with all the rigour of the law the individuals

individuals whom I have pointed out to you, against whom I am, in behalf of the French nation, as the accuser.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my perfect consideration and respect.

DUHALL*.

Norfolk, 27th June.

ANSWER.

SIR, *Norfolk Borough, June 29, 1797.*

The letter which I had the honour to receive from you of the 27th inst. I considered it my duty to lay before a Court of Aldermen, summoned especially for that purpose; I have now to communicate to you the result of our deliberations. We consider it as an evil much to be deplored, that when jealousies arise between nations, however consequential the first aggressions may be, circumstances light in their nature shall in future be magnified as proofs of disaffection. Permit us to observe, that the charges in

* In those sea-ports that have been cursed with the company of French men of war and privateers, the inhabitants are too well acquainted with the insolent and licentious manners of the officers and sailors, to be surprised at this disturbance at Norfolk; they rather wonder how the people there have borne with them so long. To behold the monkey tricks, and hear the savage howlings for six months, of a banditti of pirates who had robbed the American ships employed in the pursuit of their lawful trade; and to hear them openly menacing a repetition of it as soon as an opportunity offered, would require all the patience of a frenchified Congressman, which is tenfold greater than that of a pack-horse: but when these provocations are aggravated by the presence of a *traitor* at the head of them, strutting and blustering defiance against his plundered and insulted countrymen, the wonder is, that they have suffered a single Carmagnole to show his assassin-looking face on the shore.

Citizen Duhall's letter is a compound of falsehood and impudence. A gentleman from Norfolk has assured us that Barney and his bloody-headed crew were the aggressors in every instance, and that they were, in some measure, encouraged to continue their insults by the crawling conduct of the former Mayor of Norfolk; whose letter to the powder-bound Commodore was a composition of baseness, not to be paralleled even by the speeches of Dayton and Swanwick.

your letter are, we think, somewhat of the latter description; and while we approbate the sensibility excited on the appearance of an affront to an individual of your nation, we lament the cause which brings that sensibility into birth*. The circumstance relating to Commodore Barney was duly investigated, and, we thought, had been settled much to the Commodore's satisfaction. The affront offered to the Secretary of the French Consulship was never known officially; and permit us to assure you, that, if it had been known, every effort would have been used by the magistracy to punish the offenders. With respect to the outrage committed on the Captain of Marines of the *Medusa*, a complaint was lodged with one of the Aldermen by him and the surgeon of the ship: the Alderman who heard the complaint sent for the Commonwealth's Attorney, and, in consultation with him, left to the option of the injured officer the choice of binding the offenders to their good behaviour (the only punishment which the laws of this State can inflict for breaches of the peace), or a prosecution for the recovery of damages; the latter was the choice of the officer, and such suit is now under prosecution.

And as to the disagreeable difference between the officer of the French Republic and an officer of the

* What sort of stuff is this? Is it like the chief magistrate of a town defending the conduct of its inhabitants against the positive, and unequivocal, and false accusations of an insolent foreigner? What does the worshipful tribe mean by our *disaffection* to France? Are we quite subjugated to France? And what does he mean by *deploring as a great evil*, that any thing should be magnified into proofs of such disaffection? He modestly *thinks* that the sans-culotte's complaints are somewhat of a frivolous nature; he *approbates* (in English *approves of*) the *sensibility* excited on the appearance, the mere *appearance*, of an affront offered to a single Frenchman, while he himself bears the insults heaped on the whole town of Norfolk with the patience of a slave drilled to submission and the lash.

American army, the magistrates, however they may lament such disputes, do not hold themselves bound to interfere in the quarrels of private individuals; they will ever show a promptitude to act as conservators of the peace, but do not consider their interposition as necessary to enforce the laws of politeness:--So soon as we understood that hostile purposes were in meditation, an arrest was sent forward against Mr. Saunders, for the purpose of preventing disagreeable consequences. We forbore to extend our authority to the officer of your nation, agreeable to the tenth article of the Consular Convention between our respective Republics, trusting to the interposition of your authority to restrain him.

So far as relates to those persons denounced by you as violators of the laws of hospitality against the French officer mentioned in your letter, arrests were immediately issued against Messrs. Johnston and L——. The insults complained of by you, as offered to the citizens of the French Republic by the soldiers composing the garrison at Fort Norfolk, cannot be imputed to us; that garrison being under the command and control of a Continental officer, and without the limits of our jurisdiction:—a remonstrance to him, and not to us, would, we think, be proper. Conscious of that rectitude of conduct which has ever governed the magistracy of this borough in the relation between them and the citizens of your Republic, we feel ourselves hurt at the expression, that “justice for injury has been demanded, and “not granted.” Permit us to say, we know of no instance in which justice has been demanded, and withheld. While in our endeavours to keep up a good understanding between the citizens of our own and your Republic, we keep in view the necessity of enforcing an obedience to the laws over those persons more immediately under our jurisdiction, we conceive an equal exertion on your part as a necessary
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step thereto, and submit to you the expediency of a limitation in the license granted to the officers and soldiers of the ships of the Republic in coming on shore. The translation of your letter, addressed to the Court, being in their quarter sessions, has rendered a delay in their answer unavoidable.

I am, in behalf of the Court of Aldermen, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. LOYALL, Mayor*.

*Citizen Duhall, Vice-consul of the
French Republic, Norfolk.*

To Mr. William Cobbett!

SIR,

From the known impartiality of your Gazette, I am directed by the Chevalier d'Yrujo to hand you

* If the former Mayor was a Jacobin, the present one, to say the best of him, is a milk-sop. Instead of answering the impertinent complaint by a bold recrimination on the infamous conduct of the sans-culottes; instead of entering into a contradiction of the falsehoods it contains, and convincing the world that the pretended plaintiffs were the real aggressors, he hashes up a sort of half-fri-cassée, half-ragoo, nondescript dish, intended to please the palate of the frog-eater, without absolutely disgusting the people of Norfolk.

Besides the two letters above inserted, two others passed between the Consul and the Mayor. The Frenchman increases in impudence, and the Mayor in meanness. Finding that his *tacitly* abandoning the inhabitants was not sufficient, he turns accuser himself. He "*laments* that the acts of individual indiscretion should be wrought up to a manifestation of *national hatred*," and has the unheard-of baseness to add, that he hopes no such conclusion will be drawn, when it is recollected that, "in every attempt to preserve the public repose, the magistrates have fought for the aggressors *among our own citizens only!*" Thus he makes a merit of an act of the most crying injustice, and that committed too against his own countrymen, against the people of a town who have chosen him as their guardian, in order to favour a gang of foreigners whose sole business in the port is to prepare for a cruise against the commerce of America!

for

for publication the annexed translation of his last note to Col. Pickering.

I am, Sir,

Market Street,
13th July, 1797.

Your obedient servant,

PHILIP FATIO.

To Don Philip Fatio.

SIR,

In acknowledging your polite billet, covering a translation of the last note from the "Knight of the royal and distinguished Order of Charles III." to Timothy Pickering, Esq. I have to inform you (and I do it with extreme regret) that it is come too late for the Porcupine of this day; but I beg you to be assured that it shall be played off on the sovereign people to-morrow; and that too, with such accompaniments as, I trust, will entitle me to hope for the favour of the *magnanimous* and *natural* ally of the *murderers of Louis XVI.*

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

*Office of Porcupine's Gazette,
a quarter past 12 o'clock.*

FRIDAY, 14th JULY.

Spanish Minister's Letter to Mr. Pickering. The reader will recollect that Mr. Pickering, in his Report on Spanish Affairs, treated the little Don's impertinence with becoming contempt. This the fribble does not like, it seems.

SIR,

Your additional Report to the President of the United States of the proceedings of the officers of the King of Spain, in relation to the posts and the running of the boundary line, which I find published in all the newspapers, obliges me to trouble you with
this

this letter. If your discussion of facts had been as correct and impartial as there was reason to expect, I should not have been under the necessity of undertaking this task ; but the construction which you are pleased to put upon every act of the Spanish officers in general, and especially upon those in which I am personally concerned, compels me to observe upon several expressions which I have noticed in your said Report.

You begin, Sir, with saying, “ that although I
“ had just declared I had reasons for suspecting an
“ expedition from Canada was preparing by the
“ British against the upper part of Louisiana, yet I
“ never mentioned a single fact or reason on which
“ my suspicions were founded.” In my letter of the 2d of March I pointed out to you the probable route which the expedition would take ; and in our conference of the 27th of February I gave you information that a corps of 350 men had been raised at Montreal, and marched towards the Lakes, where, after the evacuation of the American forts, there was no ostensible object for them. I also told you, that I knew that the British agents had treated with some of the Indian nations in that country concerning the intended expedition ; and I added, that I had received those advices from a person who might be depended on, who had seen those new levies passing through Johnstown on their way to the westward. But, even supposing that I had not entered into any particulars, even supposing that my own information at that period was not complete, yet did not the interest and dignity of this Government, did not its friendly connexion with Spain, require that it should have taken every proper means to prevent the attempt we were threatened with, by giving suitable orders to General Wilkinson, or to the commanding officers of the military force on those frontiers ? The absolute silence in this particular of the documents
which

which accompany the Report of the Secretary of War, your never having communicated to me any determinate disposition on this point, as you do in your answer to my letter, which in the publication is marked No. 7, afford me sufficient grounds to fear that these precautions were omitted. You add, Sir, with a degree of candour difficult to be conceived, that from my not having given to you detailed information respecting the expedition, and from the answer which you received on the 19th ultimo from the British Minister, you believed my suspicions to be groundless. Is it possible that any one will candidly imagine, that if the English intended to violate the territory of the United States, in order to effect a *coup de main*, they would be as ingenuous in answering as you were in asking their Minister the question?

I shall not enter into all the observations which suggest themselves to my mind, from your having communicated to Mr. Liston the contents of my letters. I expected that the American Government would have watched his motions, and taken the means which I have already mentioned to prevent the success of a similar enterprise; but I never could have imagined that you would have given to the British Minister a piece of advice which might enable him to alter his plan, by letting him know that the former one was discovered. By the line of conduct which you have pursued on this business, I am convinced, that, had I communicated to you more particular details respecting this transaction, you would, with the same good-natured frankness, have given information of them to Mr. Liston.

But if you did believe that asking this question of the British Envoy was the most efficacious means to prevent the violation of the neutrality of the United States, and the invasion of the Spanish territory, let me ask why you was so remiss in this measure, that
although

although I had communicated this project to you verbally on the 27th of February, and on the 2d of March in writing, yet, in a matter obviously so urgent, you only wrote to the British Envoy on the 28th of April, that is, *two months* afterwards.

I shall not quit this subject without taking the liberty of making to you one observation which is intimately connected with it. By the date of the letter I have just mentioned, it evidently appears that I gave you advice of this intended expedition *on the 2d of March*, and that *three days before* I had given you the same information verbally. I imagined, from your known attention to business, and the importance of the subject, that you would have submitted it immediately to the consideration of the President of the United States. On the 9th of March I had the honour of speaking to Mr. Adams at his lodgings at Francis's Hotel, and mentioned the subject as a matter that I supposed him already fully informed of; and it was with no small surprise I heard him say that *he knew nothing about it*. I produced the map which I had in my pocket-book, and he listened with great attention to all that I had to say to him. It was, no doubt, to this conference with Mr. Adams that I was indebted for your answer of the 11th of the same month. I shall entirely abstain from putting any construction upon the reasons which induced you to omit making this communication to the President; but they must have been very *powerful* motives which could oblige you to remain so long silent on a matter of such importance.

You say, in the third paragraph of your Report, that on your asking me what measures Spain had taken in order to carry into execution that part of the treaty which relates to the withdrawing the *garrisons*, I answered you on the 17th of April, that I had been for some months without receiving letters from the Baron, and consequently “was entirely ignorant of the steps
“ which

“ which had been taken for the execution of the treaty.”—From this expression, which, in order to draw attention, you place between inverted commas, you insinuate an inference which in my opinion is very far from being true, when you add immediately afterwards, “ *Nevertheless he had previously informed the Baron of his suspicions of a projected expedition.*”—What is this to prove, Sir? That the Baron indeed had received my letters, but not that I had received his. The irregularity and uncertainty of navigation easily shows that your logic on this point is extremely false.

In the fifth paragraph, after giving an account of my letter of the 24th ultimo, and of its object, you observe that I have omitted to mention among the other complaints of the Baron, that of Mr. Ellicott's not having given him notice of his arrival at Natchez. Permit me to represent to you, that you have entirely mistaken what I had the honour of telling you on that occasion—for I simply mentioned, not as a *complaint*, but as a mere *observation*, that the Baron, *in the rigour*, might not have considered Mr. Ellicott an American Commissioner, for not having given him on his arrival *official notice* of his appointment, having merely informed him of it in the way of a confidential communication. You cannot be ignorant, Sir, that there are certain requisite formalities when nations treat with one another of their mutual concerns, which are not required between individuals. The Baron, when he speaks in this manner, clearly points out his meaning, that, besides the confidential letter, the communication of which *you consider as so important*, no doubt he expected another *official* one, including his commission, authority, or some other document, to ascertain the identity of the person, and the object of his mission. When, on my arrival in this country, I had not yet presented my credentials

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tials to the President, although I had delivered to you a copy of them, you might, in the rigour, not have recognised me as the Envoy Extraordinary of the King my master, for want of having complied with that necessary requisite of the established etiquette. I do not mean to say that in the present case it was absolutely necessary to go through a similar formality; nor did the Baron mention this but as a mere *matter of observation*, which was not to affect the object in question, although you, thinking that it affords you a victorious argument, are pleased to give to this circumstance an importance which it does not deserve. Besides, Sir, I might observe to you, that when, after a mixed and desultory conversation upon various subjects, I had collected and methodized my ideas, and committed them to writing, your answer and observations ought to have been confined to the written communication, clothed with all the necessary formalities; but neither do I wish to make of this an object of discussion.

The proof which you give in the sixth paragraph of your Report, to show that it is not certain that Mr. Ellicott intended to get possession of Natchez by surprise, and that for that purpose he had endeavoured to gain over the inhabitants, is merely negative. From your examination of the two persons you mention, you had very little to expect: the circumstance alone of their being the bearers of Mr. Ellicott's dispatches, points out that they were both in his confidence; and it may be presumed without temerity, that being his friends, or employed under his orders, they would hardly make a denunciation that might be prejudicial to him. Governor Gayoso declares that he has proofs of the fact in his power. I shall not fail to apply to him for them, and perhaps I may one day speak to you more positively on this business.

After having discussed the history of these transactions with all the force and accuracy which result from these observations, you assure, with a very ill-grounded confidence, that upon a view of the whole it appears that his Majesty's Governors on the Mississippi have, on various pretences, postponed the running of the boundary line and the evacuation of the posts. But I appeal to that candour which you have so generously shown to the British Minister, that you may tell me, whether it can be called a *pretence*, that the Baron de Carondelet, who was intrusted with the safety of Louisiana, refused to carry into execution a pretension *that was not stipulated for by the treaty!* By the second article it is only agreed that the *garrisons* shall be withdrawn; and as I had the honour of representing to you in my letter of the 24th ultimo, it is not to be presumed that it could ever have been the intention of his Catholic Majesty to deliver up fortifications, which, besides that they have cost him considerable sums of money, may, by the effect of political vicissitudes, be one day prejudicial to his subjects. If not to do *what was not stipulated for*, and the execution of which would be contrary to the interests of Spain, is a *pretence*, we must confess that it is a very plausible one.

With respect to the line of demarcation, it appears by the correspondence and letters of the Baron de Carondelet, which are in my possession, that although he entertained the same doubts which were suggested by Governor Gayoso respecting the posts, yet he was consenting, that the astronomical observations should be begun upon; for which purpose the Engineer, Mr. Guillemard, had already arrived at the Natchez, with all the instruments and apparatus. Such was the situation of things when my communications respecting the intended expedition

tion got to hand; from that moment, imperious necessity, and the great principle of self-defence, made his Catholic Majesty's officers turn their thoughts to objects of a more urgent nature. Mr. *Blount's* letter, and the late detected conspiracy, evince how far their conduct in this respect was necessary; and you, Sir, possessed as you were of all the facts, when you laid them before the President, ought to have been one of the last to have stigmatized the motives with the epithet of *pretexes*. So palpable an attempt to make groundless and unfair impressions on the public mind, is well calculated to defeat its own ends; and appears still more extraordinary when we consider that the American Government is in every way anxious, by its own confession, to maintain peace and harmony with Spain.

Nor do your ill-founded insinuations stop here: sentiments and expressions still more violent, flow from the same hasty pen. You say in another part, "that there is but too much reason to believe Mr. *Ellicott's* suspicions well founded, that an undue influence has been exercised over the Indians by the officers of his Catholic Majesty to prepare them for a rupture with the United States." Fortunately, Sir, you have told us the source whence you derived all those dreadful conjectures of yours; otherwise, perhaps, the weight and authority which your high official character stamps upon whatever you write or say, might make an undue impression on the public. You acknowledge, Sir, 'twas a private letter of Mr. Sargeant's (Secretary to the North-western Territory) that gave rise to your surmises: we shall now see what the letter says.

Extract of a Letter from Winthrop Sargeant, Esq. Secretary of the North-western Territory, to the Secretary of State; dated Cincinnati, June 3d, 1797.

“ General Wilkinson sending off an express, I
 “ seize the occasion to transcribe for you some
 “ paragraphs from a western letter.—The Spaniards
 “ are reinforcing their under-posts on the Missis-
 “ sippi considerably. General Howard, an Irish-
 “ man, in quality of Commander in Chief, with
 “ upwards of three hundred men, is arrived at St.
 “ Louis, and employed in erecting very formida-
 “ ble works. It likewise appears through various
 “ channels, that they are inviting a great number of
 “ Indians of the Territory to cross the Mississippi; and
 “ for this express purpose, Mr. Lorromie, an officer
 “ in the pay of the Crown, made a tour through
 “ all this country last fall, since which time sever-
 “ ral Indians have been sent on the same errand,
 “ and generally furnished with plenty of cash to
 “ defray their expenses. A large party of Dela-
 “ wares passed down on White River about the
 “ 6th of May, on their way to the Spanish side,
 “ bearing the national flag of Spain, some of them
 “ from St. Louis. They (the Spaniards) have
 “ above the mouth of the Ohio, on the Mississippi,
 “ several row-gallies with cannon.”

Now, Sir, what inference can be drawn from that letter? Why, that the Spaniards have fortified San Louis, and availed themselves of every means of defence that the country afforded! But let me ask you, Sir, against whom is it that they were thus preparing to defend themselves? Surely the documents which you have laid before the President, and the momentous business which now engages the attention of Congress, and agitates the public at large, afford a complete and satisfactory answer.

I mentioned to you, in my letter of 2d March,
 VOL. VI. S that

that the object of the British was to attack Upper Louisiana, and take San Louis and New-Madrid by surprise. It will not be questioned but that prudence required of us, at that juncture, to fortify the threatened points. This, Sir, was all we did, and this, Sir, you knew many months past; yet Mr. Sargeant's letter, which in substance says no more, fills you all at once with fears and self-created apprehensions, and makes you declare in the face of the American people, "that the Spanish officers are exciting the Indians to a rupture with us." No one will say that preparations for our self-defence were not necessary on our part. The assurance given you by the British Minister, with all the appearance of a confidential communication, *but without any signature*, did not inspire the servants of his Catholic Majesty with the same blind confidence which it produced in you. We know from daily experience, how religiously the British nation observes the rights of neutrality. Witness the American sailors! Witness the Republic of Genoa, in whose port they attacked and made prize of the French frigate *La Modeste*, as she lay at anchor there. Witness the inhabitants of Trinidad, when the British, though then in amity with them, entered the capital, with drums beating and colours flying, in pursuit of a few French who had taken refuge there. These and other instances of the sort, too numerous to be recapitulated, make us less credulous on the score of Great Britain's respect for the rights of neutrality than you appear to have been.

As to those tender considerations which actuated the British Minister to reject the plan on account of the inhumanity of calling in the aid of the Indians, I did expect that such vague, unauthenticated declarations, would have been appreciated as they deserved by you, Sir, who fought in the
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glorious cause of American independence, who witnessed the humanity of their conduct in the course of that war, and who cannot be ignorant of what has happened since.

Your ascribing hostile views to the preparations for our self-defence, cannot, Sir, have been matter of much surprise to me, after having heard a certain member of Congress, who is known to be the organ of the will of Administration, declare, in that House, he ascribed to the same motives the preparations we were making for the defence of Florida, though probably he was not ignorant, at the very time, of their real object. Thus then, Sir, according to your mode of reasoning, and that of the gentleman I have just alluded to, though we were certain of being attacked, and though we were not certain that the American Government had taken the proper measures for protecting its neutrality, yet we were to adopt no measures for our defence, but tamely suffer his Majesty's forts and possessions to be taken, and all this for fear of creating ill-founded suspicions in your minds!

If you have not been very successful, Sir, in the solidity of your reasonings, you appear not to be more so in the method of following them. After having denounced us to the whole American nation as stirring up the Indians against the United States, and *preparing them for a rupture*, you fall into the most glaring inconsistency in the following paragraph:—"Whether this plan of exciting the Indians to direct hostilities against the United States, has been contemplated and promoted by any of our own citizens, it may be difficult to say; but that one or more of those citizens have proposed and taken measures to detach the southern Indians from the interests of the United States, and to destroy the influence of the public agents over those nations, and thus to defeat the

“ great objects of their appointment, the chief of which is to preserve peace, is certain.”

I again appeal here, Sir, to your generous candour. How is it possible to reconcile such evident contradictions? On the one hand the Spanish officers are those who excite the southern Indians against the United States, and on the other you quickly follow, presuming, with sufficient foundation, in my opinion, that it may be some citizens of the United States. But although you might entertain any doubts yourself on the subject, which I am sure no person in America will, after reading Mr. Blount's letter, did not this very same doubtful case and uncertainty require, in your situation, more circumspect language? And if even in this case you appear to have gone beyond what sound policy, the tranquillity and interest of the United States required, how much more unjust are your insinuations against Spain, when the public possesses in Mr. Blount's letter a document by which they can see, that, if the manœuvres with the Indians were not favourable to the United States, they were precisely combined to attack the Spaniards? From this method of reasoning of yours, it appears as if the Spaniards were, jointly with Mr. Blount, stirring up the Indians to attack themselves.

Respecting the last article of your Report, I have only to observe, that although you have constantly assured me that Government had not the least information respecting the subject of my representations, and although the letter of Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, appears to coincide with your ideas, nevertheless time has shown that I have complied with my duty by not reposing on such assurances. The plot is discovered, and nobody any longer doubts that the expedition was to have taken place.

After having followed you step by step through the

the various points of your Report to the President, I shall make a short compendium of such as arise from this letter; from which it results,

1. That on the 27th of February I gave you sufficient particulars respecting the intended expedition, to have attracted the attention of this Government.

2. That although to this verbal communication I added another in writing on the 2d of March, the President had not the least knowledge of it on the 9th of the same month, and that without doubt you must have had very powerful motives to prevent you from communicating it to him.

3. That it does not appear by the documents presented by the Secretary of War, that Government had given orders to the military commanders to cause the territory and neutrality of the United States to be respected.

4. That you made to the English Minister a communication, which in my opinion you ought not; and that even if you thought it necessary, you delayed doing it for two months; that is, from the 27th of February to the 28th of April, although it respected a most urgent and important object.

5. That the Baron de Carondelet could very well have received my letters, without its necessarily following that his had come to hand.

6. That the Baron did not represent Mr. Ellicott's not writing to him officially as a *complaint*, but as an *observation*, and that in fact he never has done it in those terms.

7. That the proofs you allege to exculpate Mr. Ellicott, respecting his intentions of taking the fort of Natchez by surprise, are purely negative.

8. That it is not merely *pretences*, but very powerful reasons, which have impeded the evacuation of the post, and the running of the boundary line.

9. That the insinuations by which you are willing to persuade the American people that our arming is directed

rected against them, are unjust as well as unfounded, as by Mr. *Blount's* letter it is clearly demonstrated to be a precaution for the mere purpose of defence.

10. That you evidently contradict yourself, when on one hand you are pleased to attribute to us the movements of the Indians, and in the very next paragraph you show it might proceed from American citizens, as it actually does according to Mr. *Blount's* letter; and that he acted with the knowledge and intelligence of the very same British Minister, in whose private notes, without signature, and perhaps not of his own hand-writing, you place such implicit confidence.

11. That although in all your official communications you have always manifested to me that the American Government knew of nothing which indicated any foundation for my suspicions, Mr. *Blount's* letter clearly proves that I was perfectly in the right.

I have thus fulfilled a very disagreeable duty.— Always desirous to contribute to strengthen the bands of friendship which unite Spain and America, and to which their situation, their wants, and resources, invite them; I have seen with the most profound grief, that the language and tenour of your communication to the President, is not, in my opinion, calculated to promote so desirable an object to us all. For my part, although I shall leave nothing undone to cement the union and harmony with a nation which I respect; neither shall I ever suffer the interests of the King my master, in any case whatever, to be sacrificed to an unjust partiality.

I pray God to preserve you many years.

Your most obedient humble servant,

CARLOS MARTINEZ DE YRUJO.

Philadelphia, July 11th, 1797.

To Philip Fatio *.

Office of Porcupine's Gazette, 14th July, 1797.

DEAR DON,

Having, by your kind note of yesterday, been invited to a correspondence with you, I now avail myself of the invitation, in addressing to you a few observations on the letter of your *Chevalier*, this day published in my Gazette.

Upon receiving your note, the first thought that struck me was, that Don De Yrujo was another Quixote, sallied out in search of adventures, and that you were his Sancho Panza, trotting quietly at his heels, discharging his drudgery and dirty work; but though you may be an exact likeness of the Squire, both in body and mind, I find, upon a perusal of your Knight's letter, that my conceptions had done infinite injury to the hero of the romance; for the language and manner of the former bear a much stronger resemblance to the silly and brutal reproaches of a French *sans-culotte*, than to the modest, though manly remonstrances of the learned and accomplished Knight of La Mancha.

To enter into a detailed examination of this impudent letter would require a sacrifice of time that I am not inclined to throw away upon the production of a Don. Supposing every word of it to be true (which I am far from doing, by the by), it does not invalidate a single sentence contained in Mr. Pickering's Report. Controversy is therefore out of the question; it is the intention of the publication which is alone worthy of notice.

The grand object of French policy, as it respects North America, is, to acquire such an influence over the United States as to be able at all times to direct their councils, and of course command the aid of their various resources. Knowing themselves unable to

* Secretary to the Spanish Minister.

obtain this influence by fair means ; seeing, notwithstanding outward appearances, that the Americans do not in their hearts love either Frenchmen, French manners, or French goods, they have long been endeavouring to fall on some mode of acquiring by their power, what has been refused to their intrigues.

Having no fleet able to meet their enemy at sea, they could not attack us on that side. If they had been masters of that element, their fraternal cannon-balls and bomb-shells would long ago have laid our towns in ashes. Sensible of their weakness here, they turned their baleful blasting looks towards the Mississippi, and seeing your poor humiliated Catholic master (I will not call him King) in possession of the frontier, they had nothing to do but to order him to deliver, as the highwayman does the defenceless traveller.

Unfortunately for the character of your nation, your master had, just before receiving this word of command, made a treaty with the United States, which stipulates for the surrender of certain posts, that his new allies looked upon as conveniences not to be done without, when the country should come into their hands. Your Governors have, therefore, been ordered not to give them up according to treaty ; and in order to justify the retention of them, they and Don Martinez have had recourse to the many futile and miserable pretexts which have been exposed to the public in Mr. Pickering's Reports, and the documents accompanying them.

Among these pretexts one was, that they were compelled to hold them to defend the Spanish territory against an expedition from Canada, which your Chevalier told the Government was preparing. This excuse was treated as it deserved ; it was looked upon as a mere story, invented for the purpose of procrastination, and to mask the real object of the hostile preparations of your countrymen. These preparations
are

are still continued with a vigour well calculated to alarm the people of these States, and therefore every exertion is making on your part to divert their attention from them. Blount's ambiguous, inexplicable letter, and the construction which your friends have endeavoured to give it, furnished Martinez with what he looked upon as an excellent opportunity to come forward with a "*did not I tell you so?*" and thus to justify the detention of the posts, and the warlike preparations that are going forward; and, if possible, to turn the resentment of the people of this country from Spain to Great Britain.

But whatever mean opinion you Spaniards may have formed of our intellects, few of us are beasts enough to be misled or deceived by you. Our dear sister republic is, indeed, allowed to throw powder in our eyes when she pleases; but you are not republicans yet; and though you may be so in a very little time, we must still look upon you as subjects of the King of the Inquisition: by you, therefore, we are not so easily blinded. As to an expedition from Canada, none was ever preparing or intended; the scoundrels, who wanted to sound Mr. Liston, proposed an expedition by sea on the part of the British. Blount's letter says nothing about Canada, nor were any overtures ever made to Mr. Liston by Blount, or on his behalf. How, then, does his letter confirm what Yrujo had said about an expedition from Canada? If it is to be looked upon as any authority at all, it gives his story the lie.

As to the *infamous conspiracy*, as the treacherous hirelings of France call it, and perhaps justly, there is every reason to suppose that Don Martinez knows much more of it than the British Minister ever did. The projectors were all of the democratic, French, Spanish, outlandish, anti-federal, infamous faction. Blount himself has voted with the partisans of France
on

on every question that has come before him this last session of Congress; and is it, then, probable that these villains really meant to serve Great Britain? No; what is generally believed on the subject is the truth; that is, that they were employed, as Mr. Linton suspected, to insinuate themselves into his confidence; very likely to prevail on him to procure an expedition which they might betray, or at least to take some incautious step that might produce a rupture between Britain and America: and as to Blount's letter, it seems to have been written on purpose to be intercepted, seeing that, through the honourable conduct of the British Minister and his Court, all the other snares had proved unsuccessful.

However, we will suppose for a moment that you had really your fears of an assault from Canada.—That fear is over now; the plot, you say yourselves, is all discovered, and consequently no violation of the neutrality of our territory will now take place to our disadvantage. Why then does not Don Gayoso give up our posts? Why do you not fulfil your part of the treaty as we do ours? Or, rather, why do I ask these silly questions? The posts are never to be given up, the line is never to be run. No such things are intended, and Citizen Don Martinez's letter is, like all his other communications on the subject, only intended to amuse us, to make us doubt of the wisdom and integrity of our Government, and thus weaken its feeble arm, while your callow-headed countrymen are surrounding us in behalf of your treacherous, bloody, and "natural allies."

After having pointed out what I am certain is the object of this at once stupid and malicious performance, give me leave to say a word or two on the insulting manner in which it was yesterday communicated to the people. In the first place it issued from the press of a scoundrel who has long been supported
by

by your “natural allies” the cut-throats of France, and who does not attempt to deny that he is in their pay. From this prostituted press the sheets were taken by certain ill-looking vagabonds, and distributed about the city, with as little modesty as the bills of a doctor of the venereal disease. I am far from hinting that this was beneath the “*Knight of the distinguished Order of Charles III.*” The age of chivalry is gone, as Burke says, and that of boorishness, meanness, and rascality has succeeded,—What notions of honour can a man have, who could thus stoop to court the favour of the populace of a foreign country? But, indeed, what notions of honour can reasonably be expected from the representative of a power, who, for the sake of imaginary security, basely deserted, and treacherously turned his arms against his ally; of a king, who at the same time that he calls himself the *Most Catholic*, makes a league with *atheists* against the head of the church, while he asks his benediction; who suffers himself to be called the *natural ally* of, and who professes the *sincerest esteem and friendship* for, a band of rebels who have dethroned, insulted, degraded, and murdered the choicest branch, the pride of his family? Of such a king I am far from saying that Don Yrujo is an unworthy representative*.

I should now, my dear Fatio, enter on an examination of the insult offered to this Government, in the above publication, and of the punishment that ought to attend it; but as I am afraid I have already trespassed on your patience too long, I shall defer it till my next. I am afraid I trespass a good deal on your precious time, but you will do me the justice to

* Don Martinez is a subscriber to my gazette. If he sends them home carefully, they must afford infinite delight at the Court of Madrid.

allow that I did not solicit the correspondence. You have brought the evil on yourself, and you must bear it. As you have brewed so you must bake.

I pray God to preserve you many days.

Your most obedient servant,

P. PORCUPINE.

Mr. Bayard.—Mr. Bayard, from Delaware, was appointed on the Select Committee of the House of Representatives, who are now sitting on the subject of the conspiracy, in which Governor Blount makes so conspicuous a figure, in the place of Mr. Dana, from Connecticut, who declined serving.

Mr. Gerry is appointed Envoy to France, in the place of Mr. Dana, who declined the appointment.

Mr. Pitt.—The following is a striking instance of the lying malice of the American Captains: the article is taken from a New-York paper of yesterday.

“ Captain Hinckley, from Lisbon, gives an account of a frigate having arrived there from England, which brought word, that the mutiny in the British fleet had arisen to such an height, that an engagement had actually commenced between several ships, and it was conjectured that this frigate was dispatched to give intelligence of the situation of the grand fleet to Admiral Jervis.—N. B. Captain Hinckley had read, previous to this intelligence, in the English newspapers, the accounts of the mutiny in the fleet at Portsmouth. Previous to the arrival of this frigate there were three mails due at Lisbon from England—which had excited considerable alarm. It was currently reported at Lisbon, and generally believed, that Mr. Pitt had absconded from England—or rather that he

“ daret

“dared not appear in public, and was obliged to continue incog.*.”

SATURDAY, 15th JULY.

To Philip Fatio.

Office of Porcupine's Gazette, 15th July, 1799.

DEAR DON,

In fulfilment of the promise I made you yesterday, I shall now make an observation or two on the insult offered to the American Government, in the publication of the letter of Citizen Yrujo.

The Citizen in one part of his letter tells Mr. Pickering, that he “cannot be ignorant that there are certain *requisite formalities*, when *nations* treat with one another of their mutual concerns, which are not required between individuals.” This is among the very few truths that are to be found in his letter, and from it we must inevitably conclude, that he has the modesty to think Mr. Pickering *not so ignorant as himself*, or that he does *not look upon the United States as a nation*; for let me ask you, what individual, what swindling, what blackguard individual, was ever treated with less formality than he has treated the American Government, and, through it, the American people?

The idea of appealing from the Government to the people originated in the Jacobin Club of Paris. Genet was the hardened scoundrel who first threatened it here, and what he threatened Adet put in execution, slipping out of the way of a penalty by declaring himself no longer Minister. At last comes

* I have often asserted what, I hope, nobody will now call in question, that the American Captains of vessels are the most malicious and most lying scoundrels in the universe. Who would be sorry, now, to hear that this fellow, on his next voyage, had been stripped and flogged by the French?

Don Carlos, who, improving upon the example of these great masters in insolence, not only makes his appeal in a more direct and explicit manner, but retains his functions as Minister, and laughs at the anger of those whom he has insulted! Oh! that I were President for about three hours!

When Adet's appeal was received by the Government, he was no longer a public Minister; it therefore became a question, with some people, whether the Government could legally order him away or not? But your master Martinez's case is quite different: by his retaining his public character the difficulty is removed; he may be instantly commanded to quit the country; and unless he is, and that too with every mark of resentment, I shall not be surprised to see the President kicked into the street in less than six months.

Gracious Heaven! insulted by a Spaniard! Eight years war and misery, and a hundred thousand men stretched dead upon the plains of America, and all to purchase a kick from a tawny-pelted nation, which Americans had ever been taught to despise! I dare say you laugh to yourselves when you read over the endless and bombastical accounts of the celebration of our *independence*, while you see us so tamely submit to the taunts, the abuse, and robberies of you and your bloody and natural allies. If you do not laugh, the rest of the world will, and therefore you may as well join in the roar.

I shall conclude our correspondence for the present by asking you how *Mr. Blount* came to have *cards of invitation* from DON CARLOS DE MARTINEZ?—I am informed that such cards were found among his papers; and, if so, I hope you will have the candour to confess, that what I hinted at yesterday respecting his being in the confidence and pay of the French and Spaniards, may now be asserted as a fact.

I greatly applaud the *humane* sentiments of Don Carlos:

Carlos : such sentiments always come with a good grace *from a Spaniard* ; particularly when expressed towards your natural allies, seven hundred of whom your countrymen butchered in cold blood, at Fort Dauphin, no longer than about two years ago *.— After a *humane* and friendly action like this, it is no wonder to see you fraternize. You are the only nation on earth who can vie with the French in perfidy and cruelty, and therefore it is with singular propriety you call each other your *natural allies*.

I pray God to preserve you a few days longer.

Your most obedient servant,

P. PORCUPINE.

Receipt to make a Patriot.—MR. PORCUPINE, As every man who has made a discovery that is useful to his country deserves well of it, I request you will publish the following receipt, which has been the fruit of many years close study and experiment ; that, before I slip off the stage, I may put in my claim to a small portion at least of this merit.

PARACELsus SECUNDUS.

Take of the arsenic of liberty and equality, such as is manufactured at the Luxemburg in Paris, a pound of each : let them be fused in a crucible † (made of equal parts of gambling and debauchery), until every grain of property is completely evaporated. Over a strong heat this part of the process will soon be over. Take the mass that remains at the bottom of the crucible, let it cool, and after reducing it to a powder, put it into a brass vessel, filled nearly to the top with ambition, fraud, and dissimu-

* This was the most cruel and perfidious affair that ever the world witnessed.

† These crucibles may be had in most of the large cities in any quantities.

lation, about one gallon of each : to these add half a gill of republican virtue, just enough to give the liquor a proper colour ; more would spoil it. Let this composition stand for twenty-four hours in a warm place, and it will yield you a beautiful blood-coloured tincture, equal to any that was ever seen, even at Paris. After it has properly digested, add one ounce of French faith, as much of Spanish honour, and about a dram, rather less than more, of American courage of the growth of 76, if to be had. Stir the whole well together, till all the ingredients are completely dissolved in the tincture, which may be known by its turbid aspect, and the intolerable stench that arises from the vessel. Lastly, decant the liquor into strong stone bottles, for it will burst the strongest glass, and preserve it for use. If properly made, it will keep for years, and bear the longest sea voyage.

One wine-glass full of this taken in a morning on an empty stomach, and backed by another of true Coniac brandy, will almost instantly produce all the symptoms of a patriot ; it will make a man gnash his teeth and swear most outrageously whenever he sees an Englishman, or only hears the name of Great Britain mentioned ; and if you show him a handful of louis d'or, or if he even hears them rattle, he laughs immoderately, and his hand is spontaneously stretched out to receive. But what is most extraordinary in the operation of this tincture is, that after a dose or two, the more a man is kicked or caned, the more he sawns and fondles ; so that after a week or ten days steady use of it, the whole man is transformed, body and soul, into a spaniel dog, and ever afterwards walks on all fours.

N. B. This incomparable *elixir patriotique* is sold only at the offices of the Aurora in Philadelphia, of the Argus at New-York, and the Chronicle at

Boston; at each of which places the curious, by inquiring for the patriotic editors, may see living proofs of its most wonderful effects.

MONDAY, 17th JULY.

Spanish Insolence and Baseness.—MR. PORCUPINE, Ever since Spain has been governed by princes of the Bourbon family, the Spanish name has been disgraced in peace and in war; every important measure has been directed by the crooked politics of France.—This connexion, like the obscene harpies of old, contaminates whatever it touches. But never has this been so conspicuous as in the present reign, and more especially at the present period.—The degenerate Prince that now sways the Spanish sceptre, whom the French have kept on the throne, merely as a trophy of their power, or as the butt of their insolence, seems destitute not only of the dignity of a king, but of the common virtues of a man; not content with allying himself to the murderers of a benevolent Prince, who was the flower of his family, he has become the supple tool of all their most nefarious politics.

As the Sovereign is at home, so is the Minister abroad; the one is governed, like a dependant, by the nod of the five despots at Paris, and the other by the directions of the French agents in America. Because those infidel tyrants had thought proper to rob and insult this country and its government, and we have thought proper, I am sorry to add, to submit to it, the obsequious imitative Don must attempt the same, in order to participate in the guilt, and lessen the infamy of his masters.

Surely if a revolution is ever to be recommended, it is when a prince thus entails ruin and disgrace on himself and his people, as Charles the IVth has done by this alliance with the regicide Directory of France. Besides what she paid to purchase a dishonourable

peace, Spain has already lost large sums in specie, a considerable part of her navy, and a very valuable island; and if she persist in her present stupid system of obedience, without claiming the second-sight of a Scotchman, I will pronounce her ruin inevitable.

Nothing is wanted but a conjoint operation between Great Britain and the United States, to open a way to all the riches of Mexico; and however Spain may deceive herself, it is not all the crooked manœuvres of French and American Jacobins, who are as much her enemies as ours, that can long prevent it. Events are pointing, with the clearness of a sunbeam, to the absolute, irresistible necessity of such a coalition. The base subsidized agents of France cannot long check the just resentment, or resist the measures of a high-spirited and free people, who scorned to receive the law from freemen, and will never submit to receive it from slaves. The proud spirit of '76, that encountered dangers far more tremendous than any that now present themselves, will burst out with the greater violence for being so long restrained, and, spreading from north to south, will bear down all opposition.

The strength of this Government is great, in its various resources, as well as in the affection of all its citizens, a few base profligates excepted; and nothing but the want of an union of councils, and an excessive love of peace, has hitherto prevented our enemies from feeling it. We hold the fate of the French and Spanish West Indies in our hands; and without having recourse to the infernal practice of the French, the arming of slaves against their masters, we are able, with a small naval aid, to revolutionize all the kingdom of Mexico.

But with all this respectability of strength and character, it has been the unhappy fate of this Government to submit to violations and indignities almost without example; and this has been owing as much

to the tameness of its friends, as to the audacity of its enemies: for while these have been united and persevering, as all conspirators are, those have been torpid, and without any union or combination of efforts.

In the present state of things the independence of the United States is little more than a shadow; it is really not worth what it cost to acquire and support it; and unless a stop can be put to the progress of faction and foreign interference, instead of a blessing, it will ere long be a burden, which even the vassals of Prussia would not take off our hands as a gift.

I remember what the Tories prophesied at the close of the revolution war: "The prospect," said they, "that now looks so bright, will soon be darkened by clouds heavier than any that have yet hung over you. Your Government will be torn by civil factions, and you will be tossed to and fro like a tennis-ball, by the contending nations of Europe. France, which you now hug as an ally and equal, will corrupt your citizens, and foment divisions among them, by which your Government will be so weakened, that it will not dare to oppose her ambitious designs. She can never forget her being expelled from this country with disgrace, nor will she fail to improve the first opportunity to recover some part of it."

This is almost fulfilled in the present unfortunate state of things, but the case is not without a remedy, if prompt decision and firmness is adopted on the part of Government and its influential friends. To these the great body of the well-affected citizens look for an example. They feel the wounds of their country; they resent them, and, if properly led, would speedily avenge them. They fear neither the foreign enemy, nor the dastardly traitors among themselves, but would rejoice in an opportunity of sacrificing to both their much injured and insulted country.

In what consists the principal strength of France? It is the poison of her principles among the mob, and corruption of her money among the rebels and parricides. These have been the base diabolical arts by which she has done as much as by her arms; and miserable has been the fate of all those countries, where they have not been seasonably and vigorously opposed. If, after so many examples to teach us, we continue to fold our arms, and wrap ourselves up in an imagined security, our turn will come next; and we shall add one more to the gloomy catalogue of the tributaries of France.

Therefore let the friends of their country and its Government associate, at this critical juncture, to support the constituted authorities, and to oppose their enemies by spirited and united efforts. While traitors and foreign emissaries are daily insulting the chief magistrate by virulent and inflammatory publications; when the Ministers of France and Spain, forgetting common decency, obtrude their appeals on people, in order to mislead the ignorant; it is the duty of all those who condemn such criminal conduct to declare their resolution to oppose it.

AN OLD SOLDIER.

Dallas.—In consequence of my advertisement for proof of *Mr. Dallas's not being an Englishman*, I have this morning received a very valuable morsel of fanculotte biography, which I intend laying before my readers to-morrow.

TUESDAY, 18th JULY.

Blount's Flight.—A short Extract from a Chapter in the Book of Numbers.

8. And, behold, when they had made an end of their consultations they were sore perplexed, for no

man could devise where the plot would issue, or who would be safe in the day of inquisition.

9. Then the leaders of the band of conspirators came forth from the tabernacle, that standeth on the highway, even the tabernacle of Satan; and they brought out a live goat to make a sin offering.

10. And Reltub the Hibernite, and Bow-wow the *gladiator**, took him by the horns, and they presented him alive before the altar, to make an atonement for the sins of many; and, behold, when they had put their hands on him they let him go, and the goat fled and escaped into the wilderness; and, lo, from that day even unto this, he is called the scape-goat of conspiracy.

11. Depart, said they, and travel southward until thou comest into the wilderness of sin, which is in the land of the Ishmaelites, and there conceal thyself in dens and fast places, until the day of inquisition is passed over.

12. Now in those days there was a man named *Ehcab ben Ehcab*, who was descended from the great forcerer of Quilsylvania; and, behold, this man was a sinner, like unto Balaam the son of Beor, who went to curse Israel in the days of Balak. He also loved the wages of unrighteousness; and report goeth, that he made a covenant with the devil, never to speak the truth with his lips.

13. The same was high-priest of the band of conspirators, and having seized a sheep out of a strange flock, he swore by the gods *Pluviose* and *Floreal*, that this sheep was a goat, albeit no man believed him.

14. And he took and he brought the sheep to the altar to sacrifice him; and having made a preparation of oil and soot, with divers incantations he besmeared the sheep therewith, from his horns even to

* *Butler* and *Thomas Blount* were bail for Senator *Blount*.

the tip of his tail ; nathless the oil and the foot both disappeared as soon as the sun rose and shone upon them.

15. Then all the people saw the heart of *Ehcab ben Ehcab* was filled with all manner of falsehood and bitterness, and they arose with one accord, and took him without the camp, and they stoned him with stones, as a troubler of the peace of Israel.

Webster.—TO PETER PORCUPINE. SIR, Your fore antagonist, poor Noah Webster, *Esquire*, has had another relapse of madness (supposed to be the hydrophobia). I have not yet, however, heard that he bites, but he raves and he prophesies more than ever. The lucid interval which he lately enjoyed, was generally attributed to the dressing which you gave him in your March Cenfor. Coercive measures will, I am afraid, be again necessary to bring this unhappy man to his senses. In his *Minerva* of the 4th of July last, he not only squeezes conjecture to the very dregs, but he talks wildly and incoherently about “ *the late intelligence*,” which (he says) opens to a part of Europe the consoling prospect of peace, and *to all the world* some hope that the pacification will be *general*. “ There are, however, good reasons to apprehend that the peace will not be *general*, and if *general*, that it will not be *durable*.” Excellent logic for some clay-headed readers ! it is truly what the professor of pedantry calls “ the causation of causes, and the cause of things.” He next proceeds to show the state of the English fleet, their debt, the bank, the alarming condition of Ireland ; and, after talking “ much about its goddess, and about it,” and every thing being cut and dry, this maniac anticipating newspaper writer observes, “ Having conquered Portugal, and shut out English commerce from her ports, France will perhaps turn her attention to the Hanse towns, and

and play the same game with them. In the mean time France will strain every nerve to repair her marine, so as to annoy the trade of England; she will countenance the insurrections in Ireland, continue the alarms of invasion, keep up the expenditures of Great Britain, and prevent the restoration of credit, *until a storm shall burst forth into a REVOLUTION.*" Wonderful Noah! amazing prophet! This, according to Bayes, is truly to elevate and *surprise*.

Lucian, with a happy pencil, ridicules such men: he observes, "War is the parent of all things, when one action can make so many historians; and I have heard of many of them who wrote the history of what was to happen hereafter." He afterwards mentions, "that the people of Abdera were seized with a violent epidemical fever, which raged throughout the whole city, continuing for seven days; at the expiration of which, a copious discharge of blood from the nostrils, in some, and in others a profuse sweat, carried it off: it was attended, however, with a ridiculous circumstance; every one of the persons affected by it, being suddenly taken with a fit of tragedizing, and spouting iambics." Noah's disease is somewhat of this *type*, his phantasma being entirely of the tragic cast, as he talks of closing the drama, the revolution of empires, and indeed unfolds such horrid crimes to his credulous readers, as to make

" Their knotty and combined locks to part,
 " And each particular hair to stand on end
 " Like quills upon the fretful porcupine." SHAK.

This see-saw, cameleon-like Editor shows some method, however, in his madness, for he minutely takes the advice which Mr. Cambridge gave to the London gazetteers: "I would advise you (says this gentleman) in general not to be sparing of your paragraphs, either in number or in length; and

if you also take care to add a proper quantity of your own reflections, your paper will be greedily bought up by all members of oratories, reasoning societies, and other talkative assemblies of this most eloquent metropolis."

Neither is Noah by any means singular in being a prophetic, political, and dictatorial *newspaperman*; for, in the history of Currantoes and Mercuries, we find, that Woods or Tooker, those diurnal and hebdomadal historians, published a paper, called, "News, Old News, and such News as you never heard of." Then sallied forth Marchmont Needham, the prototype of prophet Noah, who, in opposition to those daily and weekly detailers, brought forth a Gazette, entitled, "*News for fifty Years to come.*"

The times then, like the present, were wild and out of joint, and almost every press groaned with conjectures, prophecies, and lamentations; but Noah, in this enlightened age, seems to out-herod them all; he balances Europe with as much facility as a grocer would a pound of sugar, and decides the fate of empires with as much promptness and infallibility as a fortune-teller delineating the future lot in life of a gaping country bumpkin; and at last modestly assures, that nothing can prevent the completion of his predictions, but the "*intervention of a miracle.*"

A little purging, bleeding, blistering, and vomiting, would be of infinite service to this bewildered, puritanical journalist, such as administered by Swift and Pope to Edmund Curl of old. It must be allowed, however, that he is a friend to Government; but a bad advocate, you know, often injures a good cause: his nonsense and his ravings become now truly insufferable. Callimorphus, a physician, who wrote the History of the Parthian War, talking of himself, finds out, "that a physician must be the fittest

fittest of all men to write history, because Esculapius was the son of Apollo, and Apollo the leader of the Muses, and the great prince of literature." Analogous to this argument is Noah's deduction, that, because he has been a soldier, a master of scholars (a schoolmaster), a language-maker (a compiler of a spelling-book), a lawyer, a constitution-maker, and a newspaper editor, he is qualified to be a political writer and *a prophet*. Touch up this insane man with the lash of satire, restore him to his pristine senses, and bring him again to be a mere retailer of facts; advise him too not to *revolutionize* * either the constitution or the language of England. He cudgels his brains too much with matters far beyond his reach: let him continue the war with the democrats; his courage and abilities are adequate to such an undertaking; but if he goes one *iota* farther, he must lose himself. Z.

New-York; 10th July, 1797.

Dallas.—MR. PORCUPINE, Observing in a late Gazette, that you advertise for an authentic account of the birth of Alexander James Dallas, in order to ascertain whether he is an Englishman or not; I believe the following memoir of this man can be substantiated with such proof as to entitle me to the offered reward of ten dollars.

This famous *sans-culotte* is a Creole of Jamaica, sent to England by the bounty of a relation, where he was educated. What lessons he received there, we can only judge of by the fruit they produced—if they were those of morality and political integrity, they must have been perverted by the natural depravity of his mind. He there married a decent

* Vide Minerva of the 8th inst.—a word entirely the coinage of his own disturbed imagination.

woman, and, when of age, returned to Jamaica; but, finding the climate of the tropics not suited to the inflammatory disposition of his brain, he came here with his wife, accompanied by his brother, Stewart Dallas, and his family, under all the appearances of wretchedness and poverty, naturally produced by the indolence and vices of an unsettled life. Stewart soon found he could not get bread to eat here, and returned to the island, where expensive clothing, and winter fuel, were not necessary. Our hero's resources were more fruitful: he hired a garret, where he snugged it in a cheap way, with his wife and a child. Here, by writing a ballad now and then, for the poetical retailers of the streets, making once in a while a seaman's will, and acting occasionally as a copyist for a low-priced conveyancer, he made shift to provide a scanty supply of victuals; the rent was left to chance*. Very fortunately for him, and unfortunately for this poor State, some favourable incident introduced him to the notice of Hallam and Henry, proprietors of the old theatre, who took him into pay on low wages, to write squibs for them, and puff up their pieces; besides which, he used to act in an emergency as a deputy prompter. This bettered his circumstances; but so prone was he to pleasure and vanity, that the hard-earned acquisitions of a month would be laid out, with the addition of what little credit he could procure for domestic supplies, in a dance and supper for a Saturday night (after he had got a set of down-stairs rooms), in order to support his consequence with a few fashionable acquaintance he had address enough to mix with, though, in the

* It was while he was in this situation, I presume, that my old *one and seven-pence halfpenny* friend Bradford lent him a quarter of a dollar to buy sugar.—See *Censor* for Sept. 1796.

ensuing week, his house would be assaulted for debts under forty shillings, without number. In this way, however, he rubbed along by hook or by crook, sometimes with a full board, at other times with an empty one; until, most fortunately for him, the federal constitution of the United States was proposed for public discussion. As no hirelings were wanted by the respectable citizens and people of property, he instantly declared for the gang of opposition, desperadoes who panted for plunder, and wished for an opportunity, by throwing the country into disorder and confusion. Here he first made himself noticed by the vociferation of his howlings, and by the Billingsgate invective of his writing. This was "a grand movement" for Dallas, to quote the phrase of his friend Genet. Our democrats soon discovered he would make an active tool, and be an useful instrument in their hands. Governor Mifflin therefore took him into patronage, and brought him forward into public life, as Secretary of the Commonwealth. It was, however, privately understood between them, that he was also to be the Governor's Secretary, that is, to write his speeches and answers, to scandalize and bespatter his opponents, to fetch, carry, and ——— for him; and, in short, do what no one but a convict, to save his devoted neck, would have condescended to undertake. Various, however, as were the functions of his new office, our hero soon became so expert, and followed up his beginnings with so much art and impudence, that the master was soon converted into the man; and his Excellency, our chaste and honest, and sober and patriotic Governor, became the mere cat's-paw of the Secretary.

In this situation he came forward as the sophistical supporter of that arch fiend Genet, and exerted all its address to protect him from the bold and manly exposure of his base practices by Mr. Jay and

and Mr. King: the event, however, sunk our Secretary still more in the opinion of honest men, but attached him closer to "our sister republic:" he became a *French advocate with a very liberal salary*, assumed the direction of the democratic societies founded by Genet, and completely governed the mother club: the Jacobins rallied round him, and no one figured with more eclat in town-meeting harangues to a giddy populace. Genet recommended him to Fauchet, whose favours he shared, as one of the famous flour-merchants. The cords of union were drawn still closer between him and Citizen Adet, of blunderbus memory; and it is supposed his circumstances are now so easy, that he had fortitude or cunning enough to keep clear of the over-drawings on the Bank of Pennsylvania, in which so many of his intimate friends were concerned. He has since figured as the abuser of the late President, the justifier of Munroe, and the defender of Blount, is a constant paragraphist for Bache's repository of filth, and an active opposer of federal measures in every way.

This, then, is the man—he is part Creole, and *part English*—he is more French than either; and so variable are his politics, that the highest bidder may always be sure of them. He has been *bowing and fawning the last winter, at the house of the British Minister*, who might easily command his services, if he chose to open his purse: but I suppose he wisely thinks that the fidelity of a treacherous Jacobin is never to be depended upon. Now, Sir, submitting my claim to your premium, I subscribe myself, Mr. Porcupine,

Your most obedient,

A FRIEND TO GOVERNMENT.

Philadelphia, July 15, 1797.

ANSWER.

ANSWER.

SIR,

I have no doubt of your being a real "*Friend to Government*," and I therefore feel myself much honoured by your communication respecting the *advocate of the French Republic*. I am, however, obliged to refuse to comply with your expectations as to the *reward*, the demand for which seems to have been grounded on a misconception of the terms of the offer. "Thus," say you, "he is *part English*, *part Creole*, &c." If this be correct, the reward is not your due, for it was not, as you seem to have understood it, offered as a recompense for proving "*whether Mr. Dallas was an Englishman or not*;" but for producing satisfactory proof that he was *not an Englishman*. It is calamity enough to have reason to fear one's self the countryman of such a man, without paying for the sad assurance of the fact. Known for an Englishman myself, resolved to be known for one as long as I possess the faculty of speech, and hearing Dallas called an Englishman, I was anxious to wipe off the disgrace, which, as his countryman, was reflected on me; for this reason it was that I advertised for a satisfactory proof of his *not* being an Englishman; and, as you say that he is *part English*, you have not produced the *satisfactory* proof required, and, consequently, are not entitled to the reward.

At the same time that I thus state my reasons for rejecting your claim, I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to you, for your kind endeavours to relieve my mind from a burden by which it has been long oppressed. You have made me half happy by assuring me, that the *advocate of the French Republic* was not born in England; if you, or any one else, can satisfy me that his progenitors were French, Spanish, Turkish, Mohawk, or any thing

thing but English ; in short, if it can be made out by “ *hook or by crook*,” as he made out his living, that he has not a drop of English blood in his veins, I not only promise to pay the reward of ten dollars, but to give a hoghead of the best London porter into the bargain.

I am your most obliged and obedient servant,

P. PORCUPINE.

Philadelphia, July 18, 1797.

WEDNESDAY, 19th JULY.

Williams the American Traitor.—St. John's, Antigua, May 1. The ship William, Captain Atkinson, from Lancaster and Cork, bound to this island, has been taken and carried into Point à Petre. She sailed from Cork on the 14th ult. and on the 17th, lat. 7° N. and long. 59° 30'. W. in company with the ship Betsey, Captain Fleek, from Glasgow, fell in with a French privateer schooner, of 10 guns, full of men, mostly Americans, and commanded by one Williams an American. The privateer immediately attacked the Betsey, which after some resistance struck, and was sent off for Guadaloupe; after which an engagement commenced between the William and the privateer, and continued for five hours, when the latter was obliged to sheer off. A gentleman from the West Indies, who lately had the misfortune to be taken by the French, assures us that he is personally acquainted with Williams, whose Christian name is Isaac, a native of Norwich, state of Connecticut; and that he has treated some of his countrymen, that fell into his hands, with the greatest barbarity.

American Traitors.—Captain Sands, of the Olivebranch, from Bourdeaux, assures us that the number

ber of Americans who have shipped themselves on board French privateers, with a view of enriching themselves on the spoils of their countrymen, is by no means small. Many of these men hold commissions. This fact would appear incredible, were it not confirmed by repeated testimonies. From this circumstance it would appear, that the brutal injuries to which our merchants are patiently submitting, is in a great measure ascribable to the villany of our own countrymen. It is a great misfortune to our country, that neither law nor example are sufficient to counteract such shocking depravity. Such transactions abroad, united to the most infamous projects of self-aggrandizement among men of consequence at home (but whose consequence ought to be made more public by placing them on gibbets), are sufficient to hold America up to the scoffs, contempt, and ridicule of the world. Surely an honest man is a jewel of inestimable worth!

[Minerva.]

Butler's Ship taken. Sans-culotteism rewarded.—Extract of a letter from an American gentleman, dated Cape François, June 24, 1797. "The Commission still continue to condemn our vessels, captured going to, or coming from British ports; and, indeed, sometimes going to French ports, as in the case of Mr. Anthony Butler's vessel, of Philadelphia. The vessel was actually bound to a French port, with a recommendatory letter from Mr. Letomb, the Consul-general. She was nevertheless condemned *."

* This Butler is one of the most furious sans-culottes in America; but you see that did not save his vessel, though sailing under French governmental protection.

To Peter Porcupine.

SIR,

New-York, 18th July, 1797.

Having observed that you offer a reward of ten dollars for "satisfactory proof that *J. A. Dallas* is *not* your countryman," I take this opportunity of assuring you that he is not, either by birth or descent. His father was *a carpenter at Edinburgh*, from whence he went to Jamaica, where he begat this imp of democracy. If this information be satisfactory, I am, I presume, entitled to the offered reward, and shall expect to receive it accordingly.

I am

Your most obedient servant,

R—S—TS.

SIR,

Philadelphia, 19th July, 1797.

On sight you will please to pay to R—S—ts, or order, the sum of ten dollars, value received.

Mr. A. Drummond,

P. PORCUPINE.

Bookseller, New-York.

Now therefore

This is to forewarn all persons whatsoever not to call me the countryman of *J. A. Dallas*, on pain of a prosecution for scandal.

Learned Pig's Departure.—Philadelphia, 17th July. Yesterday, being Sunday, the *Learned Pig* took his departure for Trenton. He was conducted as far as Harrowgate by a select party of fans-culottes, where, we are informed, they were regaled with a trough, filled with the choicest washings of the kitchen.

The greatest hilarity prevailed during the entertainment, and a number of patriotic toasts were drunk,

drunk, among which the following are worthy of particular notice.

1. The French Republic, one and indivisible.
2. Thomas Jefferson, the historian of the Bull, and *the man of the Swine*.
3. Citizen Munroe, and the French Directory.
4. Judge M'Kean, and *David's Sow*.
5. Citizen Dayton, trimming, and confiscation.
6. Ben Bache and bribery.
7. Thomas Mifflin, J. A. Dallas, and Randolph, and success to all others *who deal in meal*.
8. Tench Cox and his two negroes.
9. *Lyon*, the greatest *beast* in nature.
10. Blair M'Clenachan the first of hogs.
11. May the enemies of the swine never save their bacon.

[*The Pig having retired*]

12. The Learned Pig—may each of us, his fellow-citizens, soon equal him in knowledge, as we already do in beastliness.

The company broke up about six in the evening, and we have the pleasure to add, that they retired to their homes in the utmost good order, not a chop or the mark of a tusk being this morning visible on any of their jowls.

Spanish Minister.—*To the Editor of the Gazette of the United States.* SIR, The Chevalier d'Yrujo is much censured in the Gazette of the United States of Saturday last, by a writer who signs himself *Americanus*, for having published his letter to the Secretary of State. If the crime is in publishing, has not the Government committed this crime before him? Have we not seen published in all the newspapers, with every mark of official authenticity, that the conduct of the Spaniards demonstrates "that they do not mean *to fulfil, for an indefinite period,*

the stipulations of the treaty ;” and also “ that there is much reason to believe Mr. Ellicott’s suspicions well founded, that an undue influence has been exercised over the Indians, by the officers of his Catholic Majesty, to prepare them for a rupture with the United States ?” &c. &c.

Would the Chevalier d’Yrujo have fulfilled the duties of his station, if he had suffered these official and public attacks upon the good faith of his nation to have passed unnoticed ? Was it not incumbent on him to elucidate facts, and destroy conjectures equally injurious and unfounded ?

Americanus appears to have very extraordinary ideas of equity and justice. On the one hand, he does not censure the Government for making their attack public, through the medium of the press ; and on the other, he is greatly scandalized, that the attack should be repelled with the same weapon. He goes further, by denying to those foreign agents who come across the seas, to promote the interest of the powers they represent, the right to defend themselves when attacked, in a manner not refused to any individual in the United States. A man with such principles, if he be an American, must be an *Anglo-American*.

The plain state of the case is this. The Chevalier d’Yrujo, and the sovereign whose interests he was sent to promote, have been publicly and severely stigmatized : why should he be denied the use of the press, to repel an attack through the medium of the press ? The fact is, Sir, that those who, for certain ends, are in the habit of acting in darkness, dread the light that may be thrown upon their machinations by the torrent of truth.

It is true, that in countries where the press is not as free as it is here, and where the people have no share in the government, it is not usual to give publicity

licity to diplomatic correspondences ; yet there are instances, even with the monarchies of Europe, in which considerable publicity has been given in these matters. In the case of Arnfeldt, copies of the correspondence between Naples and Sweden were profusely distributed to persons belonging to the diplomatic corps in both countries ; and it was finally printed in the freer countries, and published to the world.

But we are not to look to Europe to justify the propriety of publicity in all governmental concerns in this country. Here the Government is the creature of the people, of course public opinion has prodigious weight ; and if any branch of the public functionaries attempt to make, by means of the press, an impression upon the public mind injurious to the character and interests of a friendly foreign nation, it is not only the right, but it must be the duty of the representative of that nation to repel the attempt in the only way it can be met—also through the medium of the press.

This is what the Chevalier d'Yrujo has done. The conduct of the Government of Spain has been attacked officially and by printing, and he has defended the Spanish Government officially and by printing. If in doing this he has misrepresented facts, and has not supported them by sufficient documents, let it be shown : or if his deductions from them are false, let their fallacy be exposed ; but in this free country let it not be said, that the press shall be a weapon of attack only, and not of defence ; none but an Anglo-American could maintain such a doctrine.

VERUS *.

* This was written, or at least handed for publication, by *Fatio*, the Spanish Minister's Secretary.

To Philip Fatio.

*Office of Porcupine's Gazette,
19th July, 1797.*

DEAR DON,

You will excuse me if I take it rather unkind in you not to honour me with a single line in answer to my two very long and very loving epistles of Friday and Saturday last. Take not this by way of reproach, my dear fellow; I am not offended at your neglect; on the contrary, I feel it as Monsieur Nicholas did the buffets of France, "with the warmest sensibility, and most sincere affection."

However, though I have received no direct answer to my letters, I perceive that some one, under the signature of *Verus*, has attempted a kind of side-winded answer in the *Gazette of the United States*. This *Verus* I take to be you, my dear friend; not because the signature is at all applicable to the contents of the letter, but because I know it is your office to dress up the sweepings of Don Carlos's brains, and render them less disgusting to public view. At any rate, whether you are the author of the communication in question or not, to you I shall address my remarks on it.

You set out by observing, that the Chevalier de Yrujo has been unmercifully censured for publishing his letter to Mr. Pickering; for, say you, "if the crime is in publishing, has not *the Government committed this crime before him?*"—This is what in English is called *dog-logic*; that is, it is a mode of reasoning worthy of a brute. How far, by the same rule, it may be worthy of a Spaniard, let those determine who have had the happiness to reside among the subjects of the royal and Most Catholic ally of the regicide atheists of France.

"If the crime is in publishing, has not *the Government*

vernment committed this crime before him?"—No: the Government has published before him, yet the Government has committed no crime, and he has committed one. We will suppose the act to have been exactly the same; instead of a stupid, vain, insolent, half-Carmagnole, half-Don like composition, we will suppose that Citizen Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo's letter had been couched in the firm, yet decent language of the American Secretary of State; for argument's sake I will allow this to have been the case, and then I will ask you, my dear Fatio, if you are such an abominable idiot as not to know that what is no crime, nay, what is a duty in one man, may be a very great crime in another? It is no crime, I take it, for a man to go to bed with his wife; but who will pretend that the same act would be no crime in another man, merely because the husband had been there before him?—Every man has a right to instruct, advise, and correct his own family; it is not only a right that belongs to him, it is his duty also; but, if an impertinent stranger, abusing that hospitality by which he has been admitted under the paternal roof, should interfere, audaciously oppose his advice to that of the father, and moreover contradict and calumniate him, his connexions, and his friends; would not such an insolent scoundrel deserve to be kicked into the street?

According to your doctrine, every thing which it is not a crime in the American Government to do, may be attempted or done without a crime by the Envoy of Spain: consequently, he has a right to issue proclamations, orders for the army, and, in short, to do every thing that he has seen the Government of this country do.—No: we are down enough, to be sure; your dear, natural, atheistical, cut-throat allies have sunk us almost to a level with yourselves; under their base influence the Americans

are fast descending to that last degree of degeneracy and degradation at which the Knights of Castile have already arrived; but yet I trust we shall not bend our necks to you. We may be sold (and perhaps we now are) to the Republic of France; and, if so, we must go over to our new masters: I, among the rest, may possibly be obliged to submit to the yoke, but, rather than suffer an humbled slave of a Spaniard to put it round my neck, I would commit that neck to the care of your *Septemberizing* allies.

I have much more to say to you to-morrow; and in the mean time I beg of your friendship to inform me, how Don Carlos came to choose young Lightning Rod for the printer and retailer of his stupid and insolent appeal to the people. I will, one of these days, take the pains to collect together a few of Bache's expressions respecting the King of Spain and his subjects, which, I make no doubt, will be very grateful to both.

I pray God to preserve you about a week longer.

Your obedient servant,

P. PORCUPINE.

THURSDAY, 20th JULY.

Letter from a New-England Captain to his Friend at Turk's Island, dated Cape François, Feb. 28, 1797.

DEAR PETER,

From our mutual friend Reuben Atkins I was surprised to hear that he was told you were carrying on a great stroke of business at Turk's Island, after you wrote to us you were settled so much to your satisfaction at Surinam. At this damned place I have been long amongst a parcel of villains trying to procure payment for merchandise taken from me by the Commissioners. At last I have succeeded; no thanks to them, but to some fair friends with whom

whom I scraped an acquaintance, and to whom I owe every thing; as, without their assistance, I should, like the rest of my countrymen, not have got a sou. In two days, or sooner if possible, I shall leave this place, for I stand on ticklish ground, I assure you; and when you have read what I am going to relate, you will say it is full time to make a natural dash, if I wish to escape the guillotine or lamp-post. Such a tale I have to unfold as will make you shudder:—but to begin in form. You know, Peter, I was always a favourite with the girls, and that I have a good person, well set off by a *je ne sçai quoi* in the air and manners; this you must acknowledge, though you often told me I was a damned puppy, instead of studying law with old Squaretoes, to go learn French and dancing with a new master, where I was a complete dabbler, Hey Bob, and Statia girls; but this, Peter, was downright envy and jealousy in you, because our favourite Jenny Green always preferred me as a partner. You remember how you used to swear whenever I took her by the hand at cousin Riddle's; I hope you have left off that low custom of swearing by Zounds—Damn it—I swear now, mate—as it is quite out of vogue. Well, Peter, I will leave you to judge whether I have not brought my dancing and palavering French (for which you so often laughed at me) to a pretty good account. On my arrival here my property (and a good assortment it was) was put in requisition. This I bore with a good grace, and in good French too; mark that, Peter: I gave them (as it was needless to complain) a sample of democratical slang on liberty and equality, and, when an occasion offered, was the first at a civic feast; danced, and sung *ça ira* and the *Carmagnole* with the best of them, instead of drawling out your American commerce and freedom; whilst my brother-sufferers, with woful faces as long as my arm,

were groaning over the Deacon's notions and long face. Well, what think you, Peter, I did to recover my property? Why, you made a hue and cry, and put forth a lamentable petition to the municipality; no such thing, I assure you, Peter; as weeping and gnashing of teeth would answer little purpose here. Why then, I suppose you will say, I joined in a lengthy complaint to Congress. You are still wide of the mark. No no, Peter, it was not the interest of many of the jockies in Congress to advocate such a business whilst Adet had any credit left within the Republic. Why then, what the devil did you? I will tell you, Peter. By dint of perseverance, some patriotic blarney, with a small dash of American modesty, I have capered, sung, and ogled myself into the good graces of Santhonax's fair family; there I fell on my feet, let me tell you, and you may guess if I did not profit by my good fortune. By this connexion I came to the knowledge of some secrets, the relation of which will make you shudder, and also show you the peril of an intrigue with the connexions of such a cut-throat rascal and incendiary. I almost tremble when I think of my situation here; and such has been my situation for some time past, for fear of discovery, that I have felt regularly every morning if my head was safe on my shoulders. I shall now proceed better to give you an account of my adventures. My fair Nannette, who is a great favourite of Santhonax, affects to be a mighty politician; and, besides being as clever and knowing a girl as your friend Dolly Tipkins, writes a good running hand, and is employed by Santhonax in copying his dispatches; she tells me, and I think it probable, he entrusts her with all his secrets. By the by, Santhonax wishes to be very intimate with her, but is devilishly afraid of his wife, who is of a jealous temper; but of this judge for yourself, Peter,

by

by what follows. Nannette, who believes me a true democrat, and that I will return to the Cape and marry her, told me, in the tender hours of dalliance, that Santhonax has been much disappointed in not acquiring the wealth to be expected through his wife's and his own interest with the Brigands; he has been fouting and pestering ever since his arrival, to find himself suspected and distrusted by his black friends; and his brother commissaries, who expected pretty pickings, are mightily disappointed to see that Santhonax, from not having made a fair division of the plunder of Hispaniola, had become so very obnoxious to the negroes.

However, Santhonax and the Commissaries are determined to realize a fortune by some means or other: in their first attempt they were baffled; which was to remove some Brigand chiefs unfavourable to their views, and to make a number of negroes work in the name of the Republic for them. This step threw the whole island into a flame; and the Commissaries began to have serious apprehensions for their own safety; but they are now relieved from their fears by the severe drubbing the British gave the Brigands to the southward, which would keep them quiet from necessity, at least for a time. On asking Nannette what could be the motive of the Executive Directory for giving orders to seize American property, she told me it was from necessity, as they could not procure funds to supply the colonies with stores and provisions; and that they were vexed to find the Americans would not take an active part against the British; but that they were resolved, while the Americans were off their guard, to render their enmity or their friendship of little consequence to any nation.

The Commissaries, in their private instructions, are directed to make the speediest and best use of their orders for destroying the American commerce;

merce ; and that proper instructions would be dispatched to Adet, who, with the American patriots, would assign sufficient reasons for so strange a measure ; that it was expected the Americans would grumble and remonstrate long before they would think of biting ; but steps would be speedily taken to deprive them of the power of doing much mischief, so that four months at least would be gained in negotiation ; and in that time a sufficient quantity of provisions and stores would be secured ; and it was expected, that if this measure was speedily and well executed, the American aristocrats would be deceived, the British credit destroyed, and from the greatness of the loss, they would be reduced to a state of equality, more favourable to the interest of the Republic. This, Peter, bad as you may think of it, is not the worst of it ; for I find from Nannette, they mean to play the same game in America they have done in the West Indies. In a letter to Santhonax from the Executive Directory (for he is the only Commissary, Nanette says, that they will implicitly trust), he is ordered, with Adet, to leave nothing untried to ruin the British and American merchants, and to employ proper agents to execute this purpose. On my asking her in what manner, she answered, By the destruction of the depots of merchandize in the towns ; and that Santhonax had written to Adet, that the best mode, and least liable to detection, would be to employ a few Cape agents, who were well trained, and many of them living in the sea-ports of America, of whom he sent Adet a list, and at the same time proposed to him, if he would undertake the business to the northward, that he would find and send from the Cape a sufficient number who would volunteer it to the southward. The business, she said, had been partly executed to the southward, and some of the agents had returned, received their
reward,

reward, and gone back with fresh orders, but that little had been done to the northward. She said Santhonax was much vexed with Adet, who, he said, was a pitiful poltroon, afraid of his own shadow; for in case of any suspicion, or even discovery, he might easily shift the odium from himself to the emigrants and British; and he swore, with the agents he had pointed out to him, who were men of tried experience and fidelity, Adet might by this time have made a *feu-de-joye* of every town on the Continent, instead of his paltry quibbling letter. Did you ever hear, Peter, of such a couple of infernal villains? there is not a place in hell hot enough for them. Only think of my loss, 600*l.* by zounds! every copper; for Asa Williams, who was brought in here the other day, says, that the house aunt Dinah left me, is burnt to the ground; as also cousin Ben's. Oh! curse on the rascals, how many thousands will be deceived by their machinations and plots! I would instantly, I swear, shoot Santhonax through the head, if there were a possibility of escaping. The Commissaries expect a fine harvest from their seizures; and from what I know of them, the Republic will be little benefited by their acts of piracy. No less than 167 sail of vessels have been seized and carried into the Cape, the outports, and Cuba, since they received the orders of the Directory; and I am sorry to say, that it was from this fund the Commissaries paid me, telling me, that I was a true *sans-culotte*, and worthy of being a French citizen. Damn their citizenship, I say. The Commissaries have given me a pass for any vessel or cargo I may bring from America, and commission for a number of goods for their families. I thought Santhonax, when he gave me his order, smiled; as much as to say, *Monsieur*, you will find few goods in America, on your return. But, Peter, if they catch me here again, I will give them
leave

leave to guillotine me, and barbacue me into the bargain. Every vessel they can lay their hands on they are turning into a privateer, and I am told the Spaniards are following their example. When I arrive in America, I shall write to you by the first vessel bound to Turk's Island. I send this by Richard Davis, who says he will forward it either from the Mole, or Kingston; do let me hear from you, Peter, as soon as you can. I am, Peter, your true friend and well-wisher,

S. M. MORRIS.

A true copy from the original, taken by me at Turk's Isles, this 31st April, 1797.

(Signed)

JOHN WRIGHT,

Justice of the Peace.

Postscript to the same.

I suppose you will be sorry to hear that my old uncle Nathan is dead, and I guess of a broken heart. You know he was a great follower of the Baptists; he fell desperately in love with a Baptist sister, you remember that stiff piece of sanctity, prating, finning Lean, who always groaned and sighed at the sight of a fiddle? the very same; by the persuasions of the Baptist preacher, it is said, he married her six or eight months ago. My old uncle wrote to me that he had been very lovesome, since my sister Sally had left home, and that he had taken a pious maiden for an helpmate, and it rejoiced his heart exceedingly, that the Lord had given him a chosen vessel to be the comfort of his old age [a crack'd pitcher, he meant, Peter]; for would you believe it, this pious maiden, this chosen vessel, five or six months after they were married, brought him twins, two strapping boys? Old Nathan never held up his head afterwards. Joe Benson mentions to me in his letter, that it was the

Baptist preacher who tipped uncle Nathan an old trader.

S. M.

A true copy,
Turk's Isles, 3^d April, 1797.

J. WRIGHT, J. P.

FRIDAY, 21st JULY.

Napper Tandy.—We are informed from New-York, by this morning's post, that the famous Irish patriot, *Napper Tandy*, is gone for Europe. It is said that Bourdeaux is his destination; and it is very probable that his business is to act as a guide to the fans-culotte invaders.

French Directory.—By a Paris paper of the 19th of May, it appears that the five tyrants, Barras, Carnot, Lareveilliere, Letourneur, and Reubel, exhibited the farce of determining, by a sort of lottery, which of them should vacate his functions; the lot fell upon *Letourneur*. The papers do not say what cut-throat was chosen in his place. That, I suppose, was looked upon as a thing of little consequence.—After this was over, the Council (of Five Hundred) went to business. After some little sham examination into the elections, the chief object of which appears to have been the rejection of Barrere, who was returned by the department of the Upper Pyrenees, the Council proceeded to the election of officers.—Pichegru *modestly* approached to the tribune (oh! the modest murderer of ten thousand innocent Flemings). *Applause* began to manifest itself; but out of respect to order it was withheld from a general burst.—If Pichegru recollected that this applauding canaille were the very same wretches who danced and sang round the scaffold of Robespierre in less than three weeks after they had come in procession to the bar of the Assembly, to congratulate it on the preservation of his valuable life; if Pichegru recollected

lected this, as I dare say he did, he must have given the shouting crew a most hearty curse.

Pichegru.—"I am penetrated," said he, "with the most lively sensations of gratitude at those demonstrations of benevolence which are expressed in your electing me to the presidency; but the more I appreciate the greatness of the duties of this office, the more I feel myself insufficient to discharge them worthily. In accepting it, I depend on your indulgence, particularly as I am not acquainted with the forms and usages *."

Fray between Duane and the Bradfords.—A famous surgeon of Dantzick is said to have been so continually occupied in the cure of his numerous patients, that he absolutely suffered a cancer on his own nose to carry him to the grave, without ever perceiving it was there. Something like this may be often perceived in our over-industrious political historians, and a striking instance of the justice of the remark has, within these few days, been exhibited by my worthy brethren, *Lloyd and Bradford*; who, while they were labouring day and night to inform the

* Well said, old marauder! One would not expect a decenter speech than this from any man that ever was educated on board the gallies. If Pichegru is not a fool, like La Fayette, he will be the only despot in France in less than three months; the other five, who at present play the farce of liberty and equality, he may easily kick into the kennel, if he does not think it necessary to tuck them up. But Pichegru is a soldier; his brains, like Monsieur M'Dowell, the Congress-man, are deposited in his belly. He understands nothing but murder and pillage; and is therefore by no means calculated to counterplot the metaphysicians and alchymists; the former will soon prove the fitness of hacking his wind-pipe, and in less than four-and-twenty hours afterwards, the latter will have his bones in the crucible. Poor monster! how many eyes are upon him at this moment! I dare say that Louvet, Tallien, and Co. have already found out a soft place to stab him in. Such is, and may such ever be, the reward of usurpation!

public of every the most minute circumstance concerning the success of the insurgents of Ireland, forgot to say a word about the insurrection in their own office, and of the bloody battle fought before their door. Perhaps, indeed, as the Bradfords came off victorious, their excessive modesty may have prevented them from giving an account of the engagement; but it is my duty to do justice to the prowess of my valiant brother typos, and therefore, first declaring they have not bribed me to trumpet forth their praise, I shall endeavour to discharge this duty to the best of my abilities.

Most of my readers must have heard, that Lord Bradford's * principal editor was an Irishman, by the name of *Duane*. He was driven from the English East Indies for attempts to create a rebellion; he was the author of the stupid, insolent, and seditious letter to General Washington, signed Jasper Dwight; and during this session of Congress he was turned out of the Hall, and forbidden to re-enter it, on account of his insolence to one of the federal members. Such being the character of the man, it was not at all wonderful that my old friend Bradford should engage him to conduct the "*Merchant's Advertiser*:"—whether such a choice was agreeable to the *merchants* or not, will be seen by the encouragement they in future give to the paper.

Some few days ago, *Jasper* gave in his resignation—for what reason I know not; but, from the sequel, it will, I fancy, appear that *money*, that cursed root of all evil, was at the bottom.

A separation, except it be from the fangs of the French sans-culottes, is in general easily effected. My Lord had only to turn his back on the insurgent, and the insurgent on my Lord, and there was an end

* For a full explanation of this title, see *Censor* for Sept. 1796.

of it. But *Jasper* had a *bill*—dreadful instrument at all times, and particularly when it comes in contact with an empty purse : when these meet, they operate like thunder and lightning. All was tranquil at my Lord Bradford's on Tuesday last. It was the lounging hour of two in the afternoon. His Lordship lay stretched on his side, his comely jowl supported on his hand, listening to the merry movement of the odoriferous press, or, perchance, enjoying in imagination the profits of other "*Observations*," and other "*Bones to gnaw*," and paying them with other "*one and seven pence halfpennies*;" when, all at once, in rushes *Jasper*, draws out his bill (apparently with hostile intentions), and presents it at my Lord's pocket. His Lordship, by instinct, drew back. *Jasper* fired ; but, whether from the bill's being overcharged, or from the sharp twist of Lord Bradford, it had not the least effect.—To quit metaphor; *Jasper* now grew outrageous; he seized the son William by the nose, and pulled him from the step of the door ; the youth returned the compliment by a punch in the guts, which brought the insurgent in the gutter, where (oh nobility, hide thy head for ever!) he was assailed by the old Lord himself, who malleted his head with as little mercy as he would that of his old sovereign King George, if he could get it under his clutches. The son Samuel now came out, and willing to prevent the further effusion of blood, challenged *Jasper* to single combat : but he had taken refuge under the hospitable roof of Citizen Magoffin, whence he refused to budge, pledging, however, his sacred honour, that he would see the triumvirate, one at a time, with sword and pistols.

Thus ended the war, as far as fists could carry it ; but *Jasper* being now in the pay of the *O'Careys*, we may expect soon to see it recommenced with the pen. In the mean time both parties have ap-
pealed

pealed to the lawyers ; my Lord Bradford has sued Jasper for an assault, and Jasper has sued him for the amount of the bill.—Oh Democracy ! how do thy children disgrace thee !

As Bradford seems resolved to pick up all the jail-birds that come in his way, if I were in his place I would build a dungeon to keep them in order ; and this he could the better manage, having himself been a jailor during the greater part of last war*. If he should find a pillory necessary, Lloyd could give very exact information both as to its construction and its use.

SATURDAY, 22^d JULY.

La Fayette and Bonaparte.—From a Paris paper of 16th May. “Citizens La Fayette, Latour-Maubeourg, and Bureau-de-Puzy, are at last set at liberty. Thanks to the generous Bonaparte ! His *feeling heart* waited not the order of the Directory to reclaim these interesting victims †.”

French Hypocrisy.—Reply of L. P. Segur to certain Observations of the Moniteur and Redacteur—the first a Paper under the Influence of the Directory, the latter, the official Gazette of Government.

In No. 228 of the Moniteur certain remarks are made upon a piece I had written relative to the ap-

* And a most unmerciful wretch he was to his unfortunate Tory neighbours.

† This is a complete specimen of that senseless jargon which frequent literal translations from the French have rendered familiar. The generous Bonaparte, with his *feeling heart*, hastens to—— to do what ? Why, he hastens to reclaim La Fayette and Co. who are called *interesting victims*. I must confess, that if a dungeon had not *reclaimed* them, they stood in need of the chastisement of the Corsican wolf ; but, when we are representing a man, or rather savage, as hastening to undertake such a task as this, we might leave his *generosity* and his *feeling heart* to be extolled on another occasion.

pearance of a rupture between France and the United States of America. This subject is too interesting not to be seriously examined.

The author reproaches me with too warmly censuring the conduct of Government. I am now less than ever disposed to do this, as the Directory has gloriously terminated a campaign fruitful in wonders—by a peace, the moderation of which appears to ensure its solidity. If what is said be true; if the Directory, forgetting the bickerings of party, and rising above the fatal passions it engenders, has really given orders for snatching from the fangs of despotism, the victims it took pleasure in tormenting; if it has broken the chains of the prisoners at Olmutz—if this be so, every friend of liberty must necessarily unite in extolling their conduct, and declare they have deserved well of humanity! But this event furnishes an additional reason to wish that its conduct may, in all respects, be *consistent*.—*While our enemies are made to respect our justice, our friends ought to have no reason to complain of our severity.*

I shall very transiently pass over the greater part of the remarks, to come at the last, which alone appears deserving of serious discussion.

Probably the author does not wish that I should first inquire whether the American merchants have sold us dear or cheap the grain we stand in need of; nor whether we have paid them as we ought: he cannot wish I should prove that it is extremely difficult for a large convoy to leave the ports of a country without permission from Government. The result is evident—Europe wished to starve us; America has fed us.

Neither can the author wish that I should inquire whether, when every European power refused to acknowledge our independence, it was possible for the President of the United States to determine this important question, without referring it to the Legislature.

Legislature. The anecdote of the arrival of Mr. Talion should not be separated from the issue of his measures : and we ought, with respect to this point, to limit our views to the result, which is, that the American Government has not acknowledged the ministers of a Prince, but was the *only one which at that time courageously and publicly acknowledged the French Republic, which all Europe was labouring to destroy in its infancy!!!*

It is well known, that in time of war neutral countries have frequent subjects of dispute with the belligerent powers, relative to the decision of prize causes, and the admission or refusal of vessels into their ports. These disputes, often tedious in the determination, are seldom of a nature to occasion reprisals ; and, notwithstanding the difficulty of precisely adjusting the respective pretensions in cases of this nature, able and patient negotiators generally obtain all the satisfaction they desire, whenever the grounds of their complaints are well understood. I have frequently experienced the truth of this in Russia, and peace could never be preserved if these secondary disputes were necessarily considered as requiring reprisals and hostility to redress them. I have observed by the Report of the American Secretary of State, that Mr. Pinckney was charged to satisfy France as to these objects ; which induces me to persist in considering the British treaty as our only cause of dissatisfaction.

The author cannot seriously wish that I should examine whether I have too promptly decided a very difficult question—that is, whether or no an independent State has the right of making a commercial treaty with any power whatever. I believe that no writer can entertain a doubt on this subject. Let us then pass to the question of expediency.

In *ordinary circumstances*, any government would
 X 2 certainly

certainly give an inexcusable proof of ill will to its ally, if it availed itself of its right as an independent power, to connect itself by a treaty of commerce with the enemy of that ally. Such conduct would warrant, not indeed a war, but a considerable coldness between the two nations. The duties of justice should never cease to be fulfilled ; but the relations of friendship and good will might be suspended. But the circumstances of the United States were not *ordinary* ; and though the author affirms that the Republic, in 1794, had decided the fate of the war, yet the three glorious and bloody campaigns which have since taken place ; their various events, and the political storms we have undergone, before attaining to the present constitution, evidently prove how uncertain the catastrophe of this grand drama must have appeared. Our marine was destroyed ; that of Great Britain became daily more formidable ; and the American Government, dreading to see itself exposed to the resentment of an exasperated power, thought itself compelled by imperious necessity to conclude the treaty of which we complain. In concert with every Frenchman, and a considerable number of Americans, I disapprove their error ; but existing circumstances plead their excuse ; and I could have wished that the French Government, solicitous to recall, not punish its ally, had adopted measures of friendship, and not of rigour, which to me appear equally repugnant to sound policy and impartial justice.

The most essential article of the observations is that relative to the provisions of the treaty ; and the author will permit me to remark, that he rather eludes than probes the difficulty. It is too well known, that the pride of Britain has never been willing to stoop to the dictates of morality ; and that she has ever been eager to seize property which a
neutral

neutral flag should make sacred and inviolable. This tyrannical conduct has compelled several powers, and particularly those of the first importance in the north of Europe, to arm in defence of their flag. I was charged by the former Government to join the confederacy on the part of France, in order to force England to acknowledge the principles of this universal morality; and I am confident the Americans would have done the same if they had been in possession of a naval force to enable them. Their weakness in this respect is their only excuse. I shall not inquire whether this circumstance should not, in our opinion, also be an excuse for them, nor whether, *renouncing our own principles, it is consistent in us to imitate that injustice we have so loudly reprehended in the English, in concert with ALL EUROPE.* This question would deserve a profound discussion, if it related alone to the seizure of English property, found on board of American vessels.

But we are very far from confining ourselves to *this kind of reprisals*. Almost every American vessel is seized, and condemned under the pretext that they are unprovided with a *role d'équipage*, although the form of the passport annexed to the treaty of 1778, is the only certificate necessary to prove the property American; and though this passport may prove that it has been granted by the constituted authorities of America, after the Captain has furnished a list of the names of the crew, the only formality required in a country where the sailors are not classed.

Whatever regulation may have existed in France anterior to this period, it is a well-established principle, that nothing beyond what is provided for in the treaty can be required. If any additions be necessary, they can be made only in the negotiation; and time must be given for the due execution of the supplementary articles.

But let us frankly avoid every diplomatic discussion. The conclusion of the letter of the Minister of Justice throws considerable light upon the question we are examining. It is clear that the French Government, dissatisfied with the American, hopes, by acts of rigour, in seizing American property, under any pretext whatever, to force that power to break its treaty with Great Britain, which greatly displeases us; and that it promises, in this case, that the Americans shall experience all the justice and benevolence they have a right to expect of us. This is the *real fact*, without shift or evasion: but it is the system which I conceive to be not only unjust, but impolitic.

I will not repeat what I have already said to establish the injustice of it; but to prove its impolicy I shall only say that its *most probable consequence will be to embitter not only the Government, but every individual in the United States against us*. I will only repeat that we have as yet comparatively no marine, while the English have a formidable one; that if we oblige the Americans to make a decisive option between the two powers, motives of fear may force them *to the side of England*; and that we shall then have accomplished the precise object our enemy so ardently wishes for, and has uniformly had in view. On the contrary, a mild claim of justice, and negotiations ably and prudently carried on, would most assuredly have recalled our ancient allies around our car of victory, and withdrawn them from their former oppressors.

We have been the terror of the world by our crimes and misfortunes—we excite its admiration by our courage—IT IS TIME TO DESERVE ITS ESTEEM, BY OUR JUSTICE AND OUR MODERATION.

Porcupine's Remarks on Segur's Reply.—The production of Segur I have copied literally from the

New-York Gazette ; I have been careful also to preserve all its frippery of *italics* and *capitals*, and I shall, by way of introduction to my observations on it, remark that the editors of that Gazette printed the whole essay in characters of a superior size, gave it for title, "IMPORTANT—TRULY so!" and told the public, by way of preface, that it was "with
 " pleasure they had it in their power to lay *any thing*
 " before their readers, which had a tendency to lessen
 " the prospect of a rupture with France."

The writer was, it seems, a second-rate diplomatic Minister under the old Government ; that he has, therefore, like many of his perfidious colleagues, added the crime of ingratitude to that of treason, is certain ; and there is little doubt that it was this double degree of infamy that recommended him to the favour of the sovereign people of our virtuous sister republic.

This reply, as it is called, is merely a defence of his own opinion respecting America, in opposition to that of the Government papers of Paris. Did the performance, therefore, breathe the most perfect spirit of friendship towards this country ; did it set forth the injustice of the past conduct of France, exhort the Government to make us compensation for their robberies, and to desist immediately from all further attempts on our property and independence ; were this its language and these its objects, and were it the production of one of the most virtuous instead of the most infamous of the human race, still, as containing no more than the mere opinions and precepts of an unauthorized individual, it would not, in the estimation of any reasonable man, be looked upon as a thing of *national importance* ; as a document to which we ought to refer for a knowledge of our destiny. But the fact is, it breathes no such spirit ; nor does it censure the conduct of the Direc-

tory, or question its right to interfere with our concerns.

The author considers our offences under three heads—first, the Government's *deliberating* whether it should receive the Envoy of the Princes or not; secondly, the decisions of our courts of justice respecting French prizes; and, thirdly, the British treaty. Now, who would not imagine, from the flattering exordium of the New-York editors, that this “*eminent writer*” has asserted our right to *deliberate* with respect to the reception of an Envoy; our right to *exercise the judicial authority in our own country*, and our right to make *treaties without the leave of France*? This, I think, was the least we could expect from our boasted friend and advocate, on whom we are desired to place so much reliance. Very far is L. P. Segur from asserting any such thing: he wishes the usurpers to pardon us for deliberating, not because we had a right to deliberate, but because the result of the deliberation *was favourable to the usurpers*. The decisions of our courts of law he wishes to be pardoned—not because we had a right to decide at all on the prizes, but because Mr. Pinckney was charged *to satisfy France on the subject*. As to the third and most important point, the British treaty, Citizen Segur plainly asserts that we had no right to make it, and that France is very *justly displeased* with us for the liberty we have taken on that head; and his only reason for advising the despots from insisting on our breaking it immediately is, “that the most probable consequence of such a step
“ would be to *embitter not only the Government, but*
“ *every individual in the United States against us*. I
“ will not only repeat that we have as *yet* compa-
“ ratively no marine, while the English have a for-
“ midable one—that if we oblige the Americans to
“ make a decisive option between the two powers,
“ motives

“ motives of fear may force them to the *side of England*. ”

Thus we see plainly that it is not on the ground of right that he defends us, or exhorts the Directory to spare us ; it is on that of *policy* only : fear that we should call in the aid of Great Britain, while France has, “ *as yet,* ” hardly any navy. When she has a navy, this bar will of course be removed ; and if we cannot be bullied into a relinquishment of the treaty now, we shall be basted into it then. This is the friendly advice of our advocate, the eminent L. P. Segur ; this “ *lessens the prospect of a rupture with France ;* ” this is the voice of consolation to our afflicted minds. Miserable and desperate indeed must be the affairs of a nation.—sunk and degraded its spirit, when it catches with avidity at such a vague, unauthenticated, and, at the same time, insolent indication of the pacific intentions of its enemy. To preserve peace is certainly a most desirable object ; but a nation that has *nothing else to preserve* is absolutely unworthy of the name. Yet this seems to be the *all in all* of the editors of the New-York Gazette ; so that what they communicate to their readers “ *lessens the prospect of a rupture,* ” they care not how insolent it be, or how degrading to themselves and their country. Were it not for their endless commemorations of the successes of *last* war, and the boozing-matches that it occasions to this day, one would really take those good people to be Quakers.

Irish Emigrants. Pastor Arnold.—New-York, 21st July. Yesterday arrived the ship Warren, Captain Stanton, in fifty-two days from Newry, with about two hundred souls. On the 29th of May there was no insurrection in Ireland, and in the opinion of the most intelligent men, none would take place, as Government had, by seizing papers belonging to some Committees of United Irishmen, developed their object and plans, and

and were pursuing the most rigorous measures to prevent their intended purposes. The country was full of soldiers—magistrates acted at discretion, sending some on board tenders, others to prison, and, latterly, those who were apprehended were sent to camp to be tried by martial law. The Reverend *John Arnold*, late Pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Balhbay, in the county of Monaghan, is a passenger, and among the number of those who were obliged to fly the country for espousing the popular cause. It was customary for the country to assemble to *reap the oats* and *sod the potatoes* of such as were *imprisoned for patriotism*, or were otherwise objects of commiseration. This gentleman thought it no degradation of character to *march* at the head of a party, who *planted the potatoes* of *five helpless widows*; for this action he was still a proper object of persecution: a military guard *robbed his house of his arms*; but by timely information he had escaped a few moments previous to their arrival, without even taking leave of his wife and family*.

MONDAY, 24th JULY.

American Morals.—To every reflecting mind, a review of the events which have taken place among

* After congratulating my readers on the strength, rigour, and success of the Irish Government, and on the operation of martial law on the rebels, I cannot refrain from joining them in commiserating the case of *Pastor Arnold*. It was customary, it seems, to assist those who were *imprisoned for patriotism*, and accordingly the good gentleman was *marching at the head of a party* to assist five helpless widows in *sodding their potatoes*! This is surely Irish; for, though five helpless widows might very probably be *imprisoned for patriotism* in that patriotic country; yet being so imprisoned, how could the Pastor be *marching to assist* them in the potatoe-fields?

It was abominably barbarous, to be sure, for *soldiers* to rob an in-offensive clergyman *of his arms*! to tear from his sacred clutches his “holy text of pike and gun;” the comfort of his declining years, and the rock of his salvation!—Query; Did the Reverend Mr. Arnold keep arms in his house *to reap oats and sod potatoes with?*

some-

some great political actors in the United States within a few years past, must be attended with extreme grief, mortification, and apprehension ; with grief, for the great depravity and corruption of morals which they manifest ; with mortification, as they affect the honour and purity of the American character ; and with serious apprehension of the consequences which may result from the influence of so many examples of an abandonment of integrity, not among the commonalty, for vice in the vulgar classes is to be met with every where ; but in high and exalted stations, and in persons selected by their fellow-citizens to fill offices of great trust, distinction, and confidence.

When we behold a Secretary of State, in whom pride alone should have supplied the place of virtue on account of the eminent and distinguished family from whom he was descended, and with whom he was related, basely forsaking his duty, meanly offering himself for a purchase, and bartering his country for the gold of an intriguing foreigner ; when we see a great diplomatic character return from an embassy in which he betrayed the best interests of his country to the politics of an insidious nation, and humbling the American people, by listening to a public abuse of them, caressed, feasted, and justified by the first officers in the Government ; when a member of the Senate of the United States is detected in debauching the fidelity of the public servants, and in plotting schemes of ambition and desperate enterprise, tending to commit the peace of his country : when it is now notorious that representatives of the people in Congress were instrumental in fomenting and encouraging the late insurrection in the West, and that the principles of the chief magistrate of the State in which it unhappily appeared, were so much suspected of disaffection, and his attachment to the country so questionable, that it was found unsafe to
confide

confide its suppression in his hands; when, in fact, this very man, his family, and his friends, were discovered in applying to their own purposes, without form, and without security, large sums of money placed under the guardianship of a public institution; when the President and Cashier of an extensive bank in the capital, and a principal officer in another bank in a great southern sea-port, connected with a man not long since in an elevated situation, are found betraying their trusts, and embezzling the property they were paid to protect; when a Judge of the Pleas is publicly detected in shop-lifting; when an officer in a conspicuous station in the collection of the revenue is dismissed for delinquency; when a merchant, lately a member of the National Legislature, the first some years past in a commercial character, has wantonly engaged in the wildest schemes of speculation and expense, and in connexion with a man whose high reputation had called him to an elevated office of control and superintendence, involving in their own fall more families in general and pungent distress, than a thousand bankruptcies had ever produced; when an associate Judge of the Supreme Court is held in duress for an immense debt, contracted in visionary plans of personal aggrandizement; when time has brought to light that a profound philosopher and statesman, whose fame had filled Europe and America, meanly and traitorously consented, in the very moment of public enthusiasm, when these States had just achieved their independence, to place it in the hands of France, without condition and without control: in fine, when we view the second magistrate in the United States, the presiding head of an independent branch of the Government, erecting the standard of opposition, rallying around it a host of malcontents, and taking a position as the chief of a faction; when we see him openly vindicating the insults and aggressions of a foreign nation, purposely

militating

mistaking the political situation and sentiments of the country in correspondence with a distant stranger, and courted by the plunderers and enemies of America—when all these shameful and degrading circumstances are reviewed, what are we to think of our republican morals? Well may we exclaim with the Confessor Fauchet, “if this people are thus early decrepit, what may we expect in their old age?” The history of the most corrupt nation, and the most despotic or degenerate monarchy in Europe, cannot produce a like number of instances of such scandalous, criminal, and traitorous conduct in their public functionaries, it may be safely affirmed, even in the lapse of a century. After such examples, how can it be wondered at that an advertisement should appear in our public prints, giving notice of a swindling assignment of his estate, by a member of Congress in the vicinity of the capital, for the purpose of defrauding his creditors; or that our people should join the French marauders, and pillage the property, and threaten the lives of their defenceless countrymen, under the flag of these pirates; or that we are so abused and humbled as to submit, with patience, to the public insults of a frivolous Spaniard, half don and half sans-culotte?

Venice and Bonaparte.—We see by the infamous proclamation of this scoundrel, respecting Venice, that that ancient and celebrated republic, after having weathered the storms of twelve centuries, is like to fall a sacrifice to the all-devouring tyranny of France. It seems that, after having seen their towns burnt, their wives and daughters deflowered, their religion insulted, and their houses plundered, the Venetians, wearied out with a series of such outrages, took the pious, though desperate, resolution of sacrificing a few hundred of these cut-throats: this offence a generous enemy would have pardoned, when he knew

it was the consequence of his own provocations ; but the savage Corsican chief is not such an enemy ; he is glad of a pretext so plausible to glut his hungry myrmidons with the riches of many years peaceable commerce.

As the infidels have now no enemies remaining in that quarter, except the Venetians, they will not meet with much difficulty in subjugating the republic, especially as they have been long enough there to debauch the principles of the lower classes by the vile doctrines of equality ; and the mildest fate that the State has to expect is, to be plundered without mercy, under the name of contributions ; to lose her richest Italian provinces, and to have her Government new-modelled *à la mode Française*. Five Doges, instead of one, will hereafter wed the Adriatic annually, as the proxies of their French lords. Neither her ancient fame nor her present pacific principles, will afford Venice any protection against the gripe of the rapacious marauders.

Notwithstanding Bonaparte's criminations, no man of common sense and candour will believe, that the Venetians, who had resisted every solicitation of the combined powers to make a common cause against France, would have committed any hostilities against her, unless their patience had been exhausted by the greatest outrages. No ! the scene alone of the pretended crimes proves the manifest falsehood of the charge : Padua, Verona, Vicenza, &c. are all within the Venetian territories ; and, of course, whatever the inhabitants did there was in their own defence. Every law, human and divine, would have warranted them in extirpating the invaders. Had the "*Lion of St. Mark*" in reality verified the old proverb, that *Italy is the tomb of the French*," and rid the world of those monsters, he would have deserved well of mankind. The vengeance would have been more just on these than any of the former invaders of Italy, either ancient or modern ;

modern ; inasmuch as these surpass all their predecessors in crimes. Until these profligate days, there have been some principles of honour, even in war ; an enemy has confined himself to what mischief he could do by his own force and that of his allies ; but the first object of the French savages, in all the countries where they have entered, has been to snap the bands of society asunder, to teach rebellions, and to tempt subjects to fight against their sovereigns by the lure of plunder. These are base and cowardly principles, and ought to be proscribed by all mankind, as hostile to every virtue ; but it is to these principles that the French owe all their successes, and for these their name will be ever infamous above all other tyrants and usurpers.

Spanish Minister.—To THE CAVALIER YRUJO, *Minister of Spain.* As it would greatly aggravate the outrage which you have committed against the Government of the United States to suppose that your audacity had proceeded upon extensive and correct information relative to diplomatic rules and authority ; and as neither your writings nor your conversation warrant such a conclusion, I am contented to believe that, on the present occasion, you are at once the victim of an insidious design on the part of your advisers, and of an insufferable vanity on your own part.

The desire of appearing what you are not, and never can be, a politician and an author, has betrayed you into an excess which would degrade an understanding even weaker than yours. To this belief, that you have been betrayed in this excess, you will be indebted for that portion of lenity which I may observe towards you in the sequel of my remarks on your very extraordinary conduct.

Prefatory to these remarks, I must call your attention to an historical fact, which, in your voluminous

nous readings, may have escaped your recollection. From this fact you may collect an instruction which, while it reproves your late intemperance, may serve as a guide for your future conduct, if the forbearance of our policy should overlook your first indiscretion, and tolerate your future residence among us.

“ In the year 1699, during the reign of William III. the Marquis of Canales, the Spanish Ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the Lords Justices (the King being on the continent), in which he complained of the conduct of the British Court towards Spain, and appealed from the King to the Parliament.”

The regency had no sooner communicated this paper to the King, than he ordered the Ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his house until the time of his departure.—He was likewise given to understand that no writing would be received from him, or any of his domestics.

“ Mr. Stanhope, the English Minister at Madrid, was ordered to complain of the affront offered to his master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom by appealing to the people and Parliament of England, against his Majesty.”

It is possible that the source from which this fact has been drawn, will be considered as *too pure* to be regarded by you as a precedent of any authority; and therefore with a view to accommodate the turbid temper of your opinions, I will recall to your remembrance what passed on the part of Genet, the great apostle of disorganization, when he was charged with an intention of appealing from the Government to the people.—Such an authority cannot fail to command your respect.

Genet, alarmed at what had escaped from him
with

with respect to an appeal from the Government to the people of the United States, and convinced that the deliberate avowal of such an intention would completely discredit and defeat his schemes, raved loudly against the charge, and threatened to prosecute the authors of so vile a calumny. Such a disclaimer of the right of appeal from the Government to the people, may have considerable influence in convincing you how grossly you have been imposed upon, in being made the dupe of your own vanity, and the malevolence of your advisers.

The consequences of such intemperance and indiscretion, to your own pretensions, and to your master's interests, will be explained in a subsequent communication.

AMERICANUS.

Spanish Jackass.—In Æsop's fable of the sick lion, we read, that, among the many beasts that came to insult, was the ass, who had his kick at the indisposed sovereign of the forests; and now, to be sure, after other *beasts* have vented their spite, the *Spanish Jackass*, thinking the *Lion* past recovery, brushes up to exercise his cowardly hoof on him. But let the despicable animal beware; for the *Lion* is able to inflict vengeance on him, and all his base companions.

Envoys' Departure for France.—On Tuesday last, General Marshall, one of the Commissioners of the United States to the Republic of France, sailed for Amsterdam, in the brig *Grace*, Captain Wills. It is said Mr. Gerry, the other Commissioner, has sailed from New-York or Boston.

Bache's Character.—A writer, under the signature of MILO, wishes to reclaim Bache; but, to recall Bache “from the paths of vice,” would, I fancy,

require something more powerful than the voice of MILO; and, as to the scoundrel's returning to *consideration*, I should be very sorry if it were possible.—No; MILO may moralize, and PORCUPINE may prick; but no conversion will ever be wrought in him, till there is an entire and complete revolution, not in the government, but *in his circumstances*. When I either see Bache, or hear of him, he always puts me in mind of the man whom crook-backed Richard's page recommended as the murderer of his nephew—"I know, my liege," says he, "*a discontented gentleman, whose humble means match not his haughty mind: gold were as good as twenty orators, and will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.*" If MILO can outbid the French Republic, he may possibly silence the howlings of the prostitute Cerberus; but if not, he may spare his moral essays.

TUESDAY, 25th JULY.

Bishop of Bergamo.—The last papers from England have brought us the following curious article:

Pastoral Letter from the Venetian Bishop of Bergamo to the venerable Clergy of that City and Diocese.

It is the incontestable sense of the Holy Scriptures, that every power is from God; *therefore, obedience to the secular power is obedience to God*; and whoever resisteth the one is guilty of disobedience to the other. The support of the present new form of civil government, to which we have been conducted by the Lord of all the earth, and all therein, is a part of the charge of your sacred functions, venerable brethren in Jesus Christ. It is your duty to display with zeal and perspicuity to all your parishioners, both in your catechisms and sermons, the necessity of

of their most cordial obedience to the just and sociable laws of the people of Bergamo, represented by their legitimate municipality, and defended by the *sincere* and effectual *protection* of the French Republic, which has also promised to *secure and maintain the holy Catholic religion*, which we profess, pure and inviolable.

The property of individuals will also be respected, and convenient and efficacious means adopted for the happy establishment of the public tranquillity at large. In neglecting an obligation of so much importance, you would render yourselves guilty of an inexcusable omission; and if, to the shame of your laudable diligence, any should refuse to yield due obedience, their culpability will be manifested to all men, and merit exemplary punishment. May God, the Author of all goodness and mercy, now and for ever banish all evil from the beloved people of Bergamo, to whom I most cordially impart the pastoral benediction *!

To Peter Porcupine.

SIR,

I have frequently heard the democrats style Mr. Jefferson "the man of the people." If you will

* Here's a scoundrel of a Bishop for you! The rebellion effected by the aid of the French cut-throats and atheists, he tells his flock they have been conducted to *by the Lord of all the earth*. All power, he tells them, is from God; and, therefore, whoever resisteth the one is guilty of disobedience to the other. This is true Italian logic; just such as we hear from the odious pair of Italian lips, which are suffered to wag in our Congress. According to this rascally Bishop, if a man claps a pistol to my breast, and commands me to rebel against my country, or to murder my father, I am to do it, "because all power is of God, and to resist "the one is to disobey the other." This mitred miscreant is a Jacobin, an apostate, or, to say all in one word, a second Talleyrand Perigord, who is now, as some of our poltroon papers tell us, one of our worthy advocates with the five despots.

please to ascertain what entitles him to the appellation, it shall be gratefully acknowledged. It has puzzled me a good deal, I assure you, as I always understood, that he proved himself a coward in our contest with Britain; and that, when the English troops were about to enter Virginia, this man of the people backed them, just as Falstaff backed his companions; that is, he turned his back upon them, and ran away like a lusty fellow.

Yours, A COUNTRY QUERIST.

✍ It is not in my power to give my correspondent so satisfactory a solution of this problem as he will find in the *Essays of Phocion*. He will there see what has earned the Virginian philosopher the mobbish title. In the mean time, if the Querist likes to reason from analogy, he may recollect what sort of a man that is, who, in England, is called *the man of the people*.

Irish Emigrant.—We hear that a Presbyterian minister, of the name of Langworthy, celebrated for stirring up the people to insurrection, has made his escape from Ireland, and is arrived at New-York. A correspondent suggests, that he will, no doubt, be a valuable acquisition to the *flour-merchants*, as he will not only be found extremely able at the plotting business, but may serve them occasionally as *father confessor*.

Livingston's Eloquence and Person.—The following extract from the silly speech of the taper-limbed orator of New-York has been published by a country Jacobin, as one of the choicest flowers from the garden of rhetoric.

“ Oh!” said Mr. Livingston, in the debate on the reported address to the President, “ let me
“ not

“ not pass over unnoticed that joy which I so well
 “ remember to have beamed on every countenance,
 “ upon the inspiring tidings that France had joined
 “ her arms to ours, in defence of our liberties—no,
 “ it can never be erased from my heart: in the
 “ gloomy horrors of desolation, and an affaffinating
 “ war, I could read by the light of those flames
 “ which consumed my paternal mansion, by the
 “ joy that sparkled in every eye, how great were
 “ the consequences of her union to America—I feel
 “ the revival of that animating joy kindle this mo-
 “ ment in my bosom—I will for ever cherish it in
 “ my heart, and I trust never part with it, till I
 “ shall part with every other sensation *.”

WEDNESDAY, 26th JULY.

Grattan.—Yesterday, says a London paper, arrived a mail from Ireland, which has brought a number of papers to the 18th inst. containing a fuller account of the important debates on a reform of Parliament on the preceding day. By some of these we are given to understand, that the opposition in the Irish House of Commons have deter-

* At first view I thought the printer had quoted the passage as a sample of that inflated nonsense, for which the *pretty* Ned Froth is so famous; but, by looking over some other parts of the paper, I soon perceived that the sans-culotte clown brought it forward for the admiration of his readers.

If ever there was a specimen of bombast, complete in all its requisites, nonsensical, turgid, and nauseous, this fally of Ned's is certainly one. Such language, even from a good, wholesome, susceptible-looking man, would be disgusting; but to hear this long iron, or rather brass, figure, this ramrod, talking about “*joy beaming on his countenance, and kindling in his bosom,*” must have been as good as an emetic. His *bosom*, indeed! Why, poor Edward has no bosom; his breast is an unplanned plank; his carcass is a clock-case, his intestines are the hard-twisted cords, and his heart is the droffy, cankered iron-weight. So much for New-York rhetoric.

mined not to attend the House any longer. Mr. Grattan, in the concluding part of his speech on the subject of reform, is said to have declared this in the following terms: "We have offered our measure—you will reject it—we deprecate yours—you will persevere: having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and, after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons*."

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN *tried and condemned!!!*

Captain McDougal, of the brig *Sea Nymph*, brings a confirmation of the capture of the ship *Governor Mifflin*, belonging to this port, by a French privateer ship, on the 13th of April, in sight of Cape de Gat, and carried into Carthageua; the ship and cargo condemned the 26th of the same month.

THURSDAY, 27th JULY.

Emigrants.—MR. PORCUPINE, It is the great misfortune of this country that foreigners have seats in the federal legislature. All that have partaken of this honour, so far as has come to my knowledge, have been distinguished by dangerous disorganizing principles: the mania of the French revolution has possessed them all. Having purchased the right of citizenship so cheaply themselves, it is natural that they should wish to extend the facility

* Thus the pensioned, yet seditious, Grattan and his crew, are, after all their boasted influence, fairly driven from the field. "We shall *trouble* you no more, and, after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons." Pious resolution! happy riddance! Would to heaven the example may be followed by their brother patriots of England! Were it to extend even across the Atlantic; were their factious admirers here to resolve never more to *trouble* the country with their presence in Congress, it would certainly be worth all the resolves they have hitherto passed.

to all their fellow-emigrants ; for on the number of such voters they depend for a continuance in office. Should affairs continue in their present train for a few years more, I should not wonder to see all the large towns and the frontier countries, in the middle and southern States, represented by French or Irish men ; by men, whose demerits in Europe had obliged them to fly to this common receptacle of crimes, and whose residence here had been just long enough to entitle them to a vote. Unless some remedy can be devised to stop the progress of this evil, to increase the difficulty of becoming a citizen, and to restrict the right of suffrage to competent property, the peace and the liberties of this country must fall a sacrifice to the passions and the politics of foreigners. The low profligates of all countries will soon be able to vote in the men who will humour or pay them best ; and the government of the United States will become a furious intolerant democracy.

Any person that will read the debates in the Congress on the stamp-act, and attend to the speeches and votes of the two foreigners from the mountains, Gallatin and Lyon, and the two worthy delegates from Kensington and Irish Town, M'Clenachan and Swanwick, will see the propriety of these remarks.

In this debate Mons. Gallatin observed, that paying twenty dollars for a certificate of naturalization “ *would not only be hard, but it might become dangerous to the peace of the country.*” As if the allegiance of such men was worth receiving, who would not pay twenty dollars, or more, for a share in the rights of a citizen ; or as if any oaths they would take, could bind them to the state. On the contrary, I really believe that there will be less danger in excluding from the right of suffrage, not only all those who are unwilling, but those also

who are unable, to pay so small a sum for the privilege.

Nobody will deny that the constitution of Pennsylvania, before the revolution, was founded on the generous basis of civil liberty ; and yet no man then was entitled to vote at an election, unless he was possessed of a freehold, or a clear personal estate of fifty pounds, which would purchase as large a freehold at that time, as five hundred would now. The sage legislator of Pennsylvania was too well acquainted with the importance of good government, to intrust any part of it to the direction of those who had nothing at stake : he knew that the protection of property was the principal end and aim of civil institutions ; and he was sensible also that men who had no property were generally too liable to be ensnared by the arts, or poisoned by the corruption, of ambitious demagogues.

Mr. Kean's Duplicity.—*From the United States Gazette.*—Mr. Bache plumes himself upon having discovered the President's motives for the nomination of Mr. Hall, which are so very remote and impossible, that I cannot give him much credit for his penetration in this instance ; but I will suggest a case that actually happened, in which his great talent for discovering motives has a fair opportunity of discovering itself. A candidate for the appointment above referred to, waited on a Chief Justice (who did not vote for Mr. Adams), and solicited his interest : this the Chief Justice very politely declined, “ because it was well known he had always been opposed to the treaty, and to all measures for carrying it into effect ; moreover, he was confident that his recommendation would have a contrary effect with the President, whose election he had opposed, &c. but was very sorry for all this, and wished the candidate success.” Next morning, as the
same

same gentleman was going into the President's, he meets the very learned Judge, leading out his very learned son, *for whom he had been soliciting the very appointment his democratic conscience forbade him to give the least countenance to the day before.* Now, this being rather a curious case of conscience, I recommend it to the sagacity of Mr. B. for elucidation. I hope he will ascertain the motives with his usual precision *.

Wax Figures.—MR. P.—I see by the advertisement of elegant wax figures to be seen, published in your paper, there are the likenesses of the Royal Family of France, which I presume we have little to do with at present, as the revolution has swept most of them off the stage. While the King was alive and in power, treaties subsisting between the two countries taught us to look on him as a friend and an ally; but he is gone, and peace to his ashes. Let future Frenchmen raise his murdered body, and weep over it for the crimes of their fathers. But are we to give our money also, for seeing the likeness of the bloody-minded Petion, Barnave, and Bonaparte, the murderers of that King? and of

* I join the public in thanking Mr. Fenno for this anecdote; but I cannot think that he acted with his usual consistency, in leaving the case of conscience to be elucidated by Bache. It is wrong in such a man as Fenno to abandon, even in a joke, his superiority over a dull-edged, dull-eyed, haggard-looking hireling of France.

For my part, I shall not leave the case to be elucidated by Bache. I shall declare at once, that, if the anecdote be true (of which I make no doubt), it exhibits an instance of dirty meanness, hardly to be equalled in the annals of democracy, and worthy only of the companion of Dallas, and the toaster of *Adet* and *Munroe*. *A Chief Justice!* Good Heaven, preserve me from his clutches! I would almost as soon, God forgive me, fall under those of *his wife!*

those

those philosophical vermin too, the infidel Voltaire and Rousseau, whose writings prepared the people of France for all the horrid crimes they have since been guilty of? Are these the men whose likenesses the American thinks are worth preserving, and which our children are invited to pay a quarter of a dollar for seeing? Verily I would not give a quarter of a dollar for the whole group, for any other purpose than to melt them down into wax candles. But can an American, who has any sense of humanity left, give his money for seeing at one opportunity, the image of Louis and his murderers brought together? I believe not, unless he was called to take the seat of Minos and Rhadamanthus, and sit in judgment over the criminals: for if he supposes the one worth preserving, he must be tempted to kick the other out of sight. Taken all together, this exhibition is too much in the savage French style of the guillotine toy, for the amusement of their children, and of the dancing dogs shown under the shade of the guillotine, while it was employed in chopping heads off. Besides, if there were no other objection to the exhibition, the principal characters being French, is at this juncture objection enough.

Philanthropy.—DIED, at the Warm Springs in Virginia, on the 8th of May last, Mr. Thomas Palmer, a native of England, and formerly a merchant in this city; he has left a large estate to his connexions, and to public uses. Amongst other legacies which mark a most benevolent and original mind, he has left the reversion of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS sterling, to be applied annually in premiums for *essays*, and in such other ways as his executors may judge proper, in order to render

der the absurd and cruel practice of war detestable, and in preserving harmony among the nations of the earth *.

Blount's Plot.—BOSTON, July 22. M'Lean's "*Catiline's*" *nada plot*" is likely to turn out worse than *Catiline's* late conspiracy. The father-in-law of the Vermont Lion, and a number of others, will be implicated. The greatest rogue, they say, has turned king's evidence †.

Blount's Plot.—Extract of a Letter to the Editor, from a Gentleman in Vermont, dated Windsor, July 14, 1797. "Since the mail is closed we have received information from Canada, that the two M'Leans, taken some time since, with one Butterfield, for treasonable practices, have been tried and executed. 'Tis said that Butterfield "turned king's evidence," and has discovered an extensive plot against the province of Canada, in which are concerned a considerable number of the first men on that side of the mountain, with the Governor at their head. With it, also, is connected the purchase of arms in France. This information comes in a letter from Colonel Porter, now in Canada."

* It is reported, but I cannot say I think it credible, that the greater part of the *pacific* speeches in the last session of Congress were made with a view of obtaining the first premium. O Lord! what will this world come to?

† When it is known that *Ira Allen*, the Governor of Vermont, was never authorized to purchase the 20,000 stand of arms, of which an account was given the other day; when it was known that his son-in-law objected to the law prohibiting the exportation of ammunition to Canada; and when the desperate circumstances of both are recollected, the proper conclusion will undoubtedly be drawn.

FRIDAY,

FRIDAY, 21th JULY.

A Letter to Doctor Morse from St. John's, New-Brunswick. The following letter is taken from the St. John's Gazette.

To Mr. Jedidiah Morse.

SIR,

In my last I noticed some useful historical observations respecting the Egyptian shepherds; and the merit of Thales, derived from those lovers of leeks and onions, with authorities to show that they are *wonderfully founded*. I noticed also how accurately you give an account of the obliquity of the ecliptic, making it $23^{\circ} 29'$ in one page, and $23^{\circ} 30'$ in the next; also, that the equatorial inhabitants move 1020 miles in an hour by an accurate division of yours, which is *new to me*; and that the reward received by Harrison was *probably from your good allies*, as you state the account, and for which they ought to be obliged to you. The British Astronomer Royal, from whom you mutilated the account of finding the lat. and long. of places, is, doubtless, under obligations to you; and your *new* reason why the meridian is so called ought never to be forgotten, especially by *your allies at the Cape*. I shall pass now to your ninth problem, p. 43, wherein is a very curious note, and not found in Guthrie; I am much astonished at his omission of so useful an observation, as *he* seems to have inserted all *your* problems. Note—
 “ By this problem you may likewise see at one view,
 “ in distant countries, where the inhabitants are rising, where breakfasting, dining, drinking tea;
 “ where going to assemblies, and where to bed.”
 This note is strictly geographical; for eating and sleeping are altogether terrestrial; and dancing is not generally acknowledged to be used by the celestials; in fact, the best divines are against it; and
 Thales

Thales and the Egyptian shepherds are of the same opinion; but an honest Irishman observed on this note, How can I tell when they go to dinner in London? For they go on to dine so late, that by J—s they will soon dine the *next day*. He was told that it was a new method to find the longitude, discovered by a person who lately squared the circle by finding, by accurate mensuration, that if a circle measures twenty-two in circumference, its diameter will be seven; and for proof of it was referred to your Geo. Prob. 18, where, you say, it has been found. He was also told that the same person had discovered that *rivers were wider at their mouth than towards their head or spring*—p. 51, and that these *new* discoveries were not *calculated for Irishmen*. Being tired with your Introduction, and desirous of knowing where your allies had plundered under the immortal Richery, I turned to the article Newfoundland, and finding that you had not given a map of that island, I trusted that you had amply made amends in your description, having professed to outdo all Europeans in your account of America. I compared your account, p. 146, with Guthrie; but, to my astonishment, found that to be copied verbatim from the poor old British Geographer, whom you have bespattered with mutilations like those in the account of the island of St. John's. Guthrie says positively, the island will afford a large supply of masts, yards, and all sorts of lumber for the West India market: this you insert with the doubtful words *it is said*; but you have the same authority for this assertion as for the rest of the articles which you copy, saving the idea of utility to the British. You say, from this island *the British* reap, &c. Guthrie's words are, *we* reap, &c. Why did you not think of the like change when you spoke of Harrisson's time-keeper? there you continue the expression, *the Government*, as if it might be the

American Government, or that of your good allies the French.

Guthrie makes the following observation: "Where our colonies are thinly peopled, or so barren as not to produce any thing from their soil, their coasts make us ample amends, and pour in upon us wealth of another sort, and no ways inferior to that arising from the most fertile soil." This you omit; it is favourable to Britain. The like omission, in your account of St. John's, was unfavourable to France—But the facts are true, and full as geographical as the time of drinking tea or going to assemblies in any part of the world. You allow, indeed, that the United States enjoy the same privileges at Newfoundland as before the war. Is this consistent with your insinuation, p. 241, that Britain grants favours in commerce which are not extended to the United States?—By this it seems that she grants important favours to the United States, not extended to any other nation; of which Richery's plan of plunder is full proof. I am disappointed in your account of Newfoundland, as much as in that of St. John's. The mountain has laboured—I see no production. If this be the way you *calculate a work* for Americans, you ought to apprise the rest of the world with the outlines of your real designation, and say fairly that your Geography is *not calculated* for the British.

The extraordinary Session of Congress.—Congress was called together, says the Boston Mercury, to provide for the extraordinary state of our affairs. Both Houses say, in their answer to the President's speech, that the call was right. So far even Jacobin mouths are stopped;—for the Jacobins in Congress did not so much as deny the necessity of the call. Now, admitting that necessity, what have they done? Nothing. Yes, nothing; if they have done

done less than all they could do to protect our plundered trade, and to vindicate our insulted independence, our violated rights. What they have done is little, very little, according to their own account; for they insist we should trust wholly to prayer and prize-offerings, to propitiate the cannibal divinity whom they worship.—In plain truth, was it worth while to call Congress together for the Jacobin members to tell the world our Government is a despotism, our citizens divided, *France* irresistible and adorable? What have they done at a time of acknowledged danger? Have they filled the arsenals, recruited the army, fortified the sea-ports? The showers will wash down more earth than the money they have voted will throw up.

Have they ordered new frigates to be built? called forth at the very crisis of fate the powers of the bravest and most enterprising seafaring nation on earth; perhaps the second for merchant-ships, and destined by the decrees of Heaven to be the first? Nothing of this. With little actual force, but infinite resources for it, the nation that is to hold the maritime sceptre at no distant day, is struck by jacobinism with a palsy. Powerless, convulsed, and cowardly, what face do we hold up to the world? When one cheek is smitten what do we do? Turn the other: the most despicable of all mean things as a State, we invite blows; we hold our handkerchiefs ready, assuring France that when she spits in our faces, we will wipe them. The revenue cutters are to be permitted—to do what? To keep within our own jurisdiction: that is to say, they and our three frigates may sail in our mill-ponds, may stick in our sand-banks. Protections they may *not* give. Our high-spirited duellists from the south call this honour, national dignity and independence! How safe is it to let such men encroach upon the Senate and the President? No, no, no; the electors must,

at the next choice, change their Jacobin members or their Federal Government.

Arnold, Irish Traitor.—From New-York we are informed, that “on Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Arnold, whose arrival from Newry we mentioned on Friday, preached an excellent sermon in the old Presbyterian church from these words; “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no one shall see the Lord. Heb. xii. 14.”

Remark.—It is to be presumed, that this reverend insurgent never read this text till he came to America. If he had “followed peace with all men,” he would not have been prosecuted as a rebel; nor would he have bewailed so bitterly the loss of his arms.

The “excellent sermons” of such canting hypocrites, notwithstanding our fans-culotte papers, and even some of our impartial ones, become the vehicles of their puffs, will produce little effect here. The minds of Americans are made up respecting the *runaway patriots*: to have escaped Botany Bay or the gallows, is not now a recommendation to public favour. We have suffered, and are yet suffering, too much from the French; we feel too severely the curse of having their partisans among us to rejoice at an augmentation of their number. In the years 1794 and 1795, when our dear allies had nothing but honey for our lips; then we prayed most piously for the destruction of all monarchs and their satellites; then we toasted the Rights of Man; we feasted Genet, and wished for revolutions to convulse every country in the world, our own excepted; and from this we thought we were secured by the affection of our tender-hearted sister. But the face of things is changed. We see revolution making hasty strides towards ourselves; and we begin to be less anxious to see it succeed elsewhere.

elsewhere. Danger has taught us prudence and justice: we no longer hug the runaway traitor to our bosom, applaud his treachery, and regret its want of success. This change should be made known; traitors still fly hither, hoping to meet with a cordial reception; to be caressed, fed, and clothed for their infamy; and, having such a place of refuge in view, are probably thereby tempted to commit what they otherwise would never attempt. It is worthy of remark, that all the scape-gallows *divines* land at New-York.

Hemp.—Seeing that, from the latest intelligence, there is every reason to suppose the traitors in Ireland will be worsted, and consequently that there will be large importations of them to this devoted State, it is submitted to farmers whether it might not be prudent in them, this fall, to reserve a considerable portion of their land for the cultivation of *hemp*.

Stamp-act. Curious Shuffle.—From the N. York Daily Advertiser.—“The opposers of our Government at last begin to bark at the stamp-act. They forget that this act will be popular in its operation, as it falls mostly on monied men, and it saves us from a land-tax. In truth, they are barking at the name, *which is British*, rather than the thing, *which is American* *.”

* Why did the paragraphist drag *the British* into this silly definition of a *stamp-act*? What does he mean by separating the *name* from the *thing*, and calling the former *British* and the latter *American*? If his intention was to reconcile malcontents to the tax, he has shuffled his cards wrong; for greatly mistaken am I, if those who are to be subject to it, would not much rather that the thing were *British*, and the *name American*.

Dallas.—The following letter, from a Scotchman, is just received from New-York.

To Mr. P. Porcupine.

SIR,

New-York, 27th July, 1797.

I think you were rather hasty in bestowing your reward of *ten dollars* for the *proof*, as you are pleased to call it, respecting *A. J. Dallas*. I myself, Sir, was born and bred in Edinburgh, and I am ready to make oath that I never heard of the name before I came to this country; which, together with the concurrent testimony of several Edinburgh gentlemen now in this city, I trust, will be looked upon as a complete refutation of the assertion of R. S——ts.

Far be it from me, Mr. Porcupine, to blame you for wishing to get rid of such a countryman; but I think it is hardly fair to shift the dishonour from your own back to that of your neighbours. It is enough for us to be obliged to own the little clip-eared, scape-gibbet Calendar, without being faddled with your Secretary of State.

But, Sir, *Scotchmen* and *Englishmen* are now confounded in the common, more liberal and more loyal name of Briton; and, therefore, in throwing your *flour-merchant* on Scotland, you gain little or nothing.

Since this subject has been on the carpet, I have been well informed by a friend of mine, that the name is *Irish*; and am in great hopes that, by setting a fresh inquiry on foot, you will be able to determine to a certainty that the *advocate of the French Republic, Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, and defender of Genet and Blount, is an Irishman*; or, at any rate,
that

that he is not, as it has been injuriously given out, a countryman of

Yours, &c.

A SCOTCHMAN*.

Spanish Fraternity.—*Charleston, July 10.* The schooner Nabby, Captain Willis, from Jeremie, which arrived here on Friday last. having anchored on the 24th ult. under the Moro Castle, was immediately boarded by a Custom-house boat from the Havannah, and ordered away. The next morning the Nabby was taken by two French privateers, and plundered of 3487 dollars, belonging to Messrs. Edward Darrell and Co. of this city, and some articles of clothing belonging to the Captain and crew. Captain Willis supposes the officers of the privateers must have had information from the Custom-house officers at the Havannah, as they were already acquainted with the articles on board †.

SATURDAY,

* Though I cannot help commending this worthy Caledonian's anxiety for the reputation of his country, I can by no means approve of his attempt to cast the burden on poor *Ireland*; who, God knows, has enough to bear already. Nor can I say that I am pleased at the expression, "*your secretary*;"—"your flour-merchant," &c. He is, thank God, none of *mine*; the Caledonian may take him to himself for any thing that I care.

† And yet there are Americans, or people calling themselves so, who have the impudence, the rascality, to talk to us of the *justice*, and even of the *friendship*, of these coalesced robbers! There is something superlatively base in the aptitude which a vast majority of the public papers discover, to excuse or palliate the vile conduct of France. An American vessel, the *Julian*, of Baltimore, has been tried at Havre de Grace, and, wonderful to relate! has been *cleared!!!* This blessed article of news, this magnanimous, generous, noble, and *only* instance of piratical forbearance, has been counted and recounted, till it fairly sickens one. *Fourteen* times has it been related in one of the *impartial* papers of Philadelphia. *Claypoole* has it twice over in this morning's paper. It is cooked up in different ways, 'tis true: in one place

SATURDAY, 29th JULY.

Georgian Justice.—The last Augusta Chronicle contains the proceedings in criminal cases in Burke County, at the last superior court. These consist solely of trials for murder and horse-stealing, of each of which four cases occur. One man only was convicted of murder; he had cut one dollar in seven pieces, charged his gun therewith, and went to a woman's house whom he conceived to be a witch, and deliberately shot her. In the second case the killing did not appear to be deliberate; and the deceased had given great provocation. In the third instance four men were tried for the murder of a man whom they had taken up on unfounded suspicions of having committed several crimes; they were taking him to Augusta, tied on horseback; the parties drank very freely of spirits, and night coming on, it was reported that the prisoner was untied and off his horse: here, it would appear from the statement, they hung up the unfortunate man, to prevent his escape; as he was found in the woods with a rope about his neck, within a mile of where his four guards were proved to have threatened to punish him if he did not confess his crimes! Yet they were acquitted. It is added, however, that the deceased was of an in-

it is a ragout, and in the other a fricassée; but still it is the same old stinking stuff; still the fortunate *Julian of Baltimore* is the burden of the cuckoo tale. When a vessel is *cleared* by the British, neither Messrs. Claypoole, nor any other of the impartial editors, think it worth while to mention it but *once*; and even that once it is done grudgingly; it is set in the smallest type, and crammed into the most obscure corner of the *impartial sheet*.

A fine thing, indeed, to hold out to the public as a proof of French justice and moderation, is the *clearing* of a vessel the rascals *had no right to try*; and this too at a moment when their cruisers are seizing our ships in the mouth of our rivers. Messrs. Claypoole did not relate the taking of the rich Indianman in the Delaware *twice in one paper*.

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famous character, so that possibly his executioners only anticipated the just sentence of the law. The fourth homicide was also that of a man of bad character, who was killed by a fellow-traveller with a sword: the survivor, in his defence, very ingeniously declaring that he acted in self-defence, the good-natured jury took his word, and found him guilty of man-slaughter only.—One of the horse-thieves was capitally convicted.

MONDAY, 31st JULY.

Spanish Minister.—From the Gazette of the United States. ANECDOTE, from the Bourdeaux "*Journal des Journaux.*" When the Court of Madrid found itself compelled, by the most imperious necessity, to make peace with the French Republic, it was necessary to make the King sensible of the impossibility of continuing the war, and to resign himself to the sacrifices imposed by the treaty of peace. *I thought (said the astonished Monarch) that we had always beaten the French.* What will his magnanimous Majesty say, when by the result of Don Yarico's conspiracy with Blount, and his appeal to the people, this political puppet shall have brought on a war with America? When the standard of liberty shall be unfurled on the Isthmus of Darien, then his Majesty may, perhaps, find that the freeborn sons of America are not that dastardly race of cowards, which their submission to the insults of his treacherous and piratical ally had taught him to believe them. And when Don Manuel de Godoy, Prince de la Paz, shall come before the magnanimous monarch, and, with his finger in his mouth, tell him that it has become necessary to preserve the valuable mines of Peru, the extensive territory of Amazonia, Paraguay, Chili, and in short all South America proper, by the surrender of all his possessions on this side the Isthmus

of Darien ; it is much to be doubted if the monarch, instead of tacitly admitting the argument of “ impetuous necessity,” will not kick the sublime Prince of Peace from his presence, and, turning his attention to the origin of so great evils, will allot a birth to Don Yarico in that commodious habitation where his respectable predecessor is so well accommodated : all the good he has done to Spain by *his Translation of Smith's Wealth of Nations* is to the contrary notwithstanding.

French Fraternity and American Patriotism.—The ship Swanwick, Captain Jaughan, is arrived from Belfast. On the 19th, lat. $42^{\circ} 53'$, long. 24° , was boarded by two French frigates, one of 40, the other of 36 guns, who took from Captain Jaughan all his latest papers, and a number of letters, and then dismissed him. 22d, lat. $41^{\circ} 15'$, long. 26° , fell in with the French privateer brig Intrepid, of 16 guns, belonging to Nantz, who took possession of the Swanwick, and declared her a good prize, hoisted out her boats, and proceeded to *ransacking the cargo*, from which they took twenty-five boxes of linen, one cask of hardware, weight two tons ; all the new spare rigging of the ship, and sundry other articles ; *exchanged* a considerable quantity of *bad provisions* for *good provisions belonging to the ship's stores*, and, after a detention of twenty-four hours, sent Captain Jaughan on board his ship, and dismissed her. They had on board of her the crew of the *American Hero*, Captain M'Dougal, of and from New-York for Cadiz, which they had captured and sent for Nantz two days before. The Captain of the privateer offered to let the *crew of the American Hero* go on board the Swanwick, but they refused, and entered on board the Intrepid, and *were amongst the foremost in plundering the Swanwick*—the boats of the ship were shattered to pieces, while in possession of the privateer.

teer. July 23, spoke the ship Josiah, Collins, out forty-one days from Liverpool for New-York *.

Franklin and Adultery.—The following curious article is from the *Aurora* of the 28th inst. “Now
“preparing, and soon will be published, a Treatise
“in favour of *Adultery*, in which it will be proved
“to every liberal mind, that the opinions of *our*
“*forefathers* on this subject have been erroneous,
“and shows that a man *has a right to indulge in*
“*it, &c.†.*”

TUESDAY, 1st AUGUST.

Irish Emigrants.—When the spirit of jacobinism has full possession of the mind, it extinguishes every virtue as effectually as a strong dose of arsenic will animal life; and the man becomes capable of the basest crimes against his God, his country, and his friends: of this we have numerous instances; but there are two cases which I will just now mention, not on account of their singular atrocity, but their

* I think the above furnishes as complete specimens of *French fraternity* and *American patriotism* as we have seen. How silly the *persecuted* Irish must have looked, while their dearly beloved friends the French, in conjunction with the American heroes, to whom they were flying for protection—how silly must they have looked, while these allied brothers were making the brotherly exchange of *bad provisions for good!*

† Bache is noted for a bad memory; but one would not have expected him to stumble on such a subject as this. He says, it will be proved that a man *has a right to indulge in adultery*, and this, he says, will show that the opinions of *our forefathers were erroneous*. Had young Lightning Rod said, *your* forefathers, the declaration might have passed without comment; but, by saying *our* forefathers, he of necessity included his crafty and lecherous old hypocrite of a grandfather, whose very statue seems to gloat on the wenches as they walk the state-house yard, and whose *opinions respecting adultery* can be proved, not by vague assertions, but by *living witnesses*.

recent occurrence. The first is that of the crew of the *American Hero*, belonging to New-York; who, instead of accepting a passage home when offered, joined the crew of French pirates that captured them, in plundering the *Swanwick* (Captain Jaughan), another American vessel, on her passage from Belfast hither. The second is that of some of the passengers on board the *Swanwick*, who fled from Ireland on account of their jacobinic crimes. On board this vessel there was one person, who, if not a friend to the Government of his native country, was, at least, not an enemy to it; for by refusing to join the rest in cursing and abusing it, he incurred their displeasure. To punish him for his integrity, these Irish Jacobins represented him to the French crew as a royalist and an enemy to liberty, for which crime the fans-culottes robbed him of all he had, and threatened him seriously, either to hang him at the yard-arm, or carry him along with them into France. And such is the audacity of these incorrigible scoundrels, that they have not ceased to insult and menace him, even since their arrival here*.

Republican Philanthropy.—From a New-York paper. Friday last John Young was tried before the Supreme Court at New-York, for the murder of Robert Berwick. His counsel, Messrs. Brookholst, Livingston, Burr, and Pendleton, defended him with ingenuity and ability; but in vain: the facts were indisputably proved, and the jury brought in their verdict, Guilty.

* That the above related facts are true, the reader may be assured; and if the abused passenger will come forward and name the savage villains, at whose instigation he was plundered, and his life put in jeopardy, I will with pleasure communicate them to the public. The people of America, however some of them may be led astray by an enthusiasm in favour of the French, will never, I hope, countenance such savage conduct.

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The principal object of the defence was to reduce the crime to man-slaughter.

In the conversation occasioned by an event so rare among us as a capital conviction, the question has been revived, whether any man, or set of men, has a right, even in case of murder, to take away the life of a fellow-creature? and, if such *right* exists, whether the execution of it is consonant with *policy*?

When the verdict was pronounced, we understand the *audience evinced their approbation by loud acclamations*—an indecency, which never ought to be tolerated before a dignified tribunal of justice, and on such solemn occasions*.

Lyon.—We have authority to say that Mr. *Lyon*, of Vermont, during the late session of Congress, sent nearly two hundred letters weekly to his constituents, each covering one of Bache's papers, and vilifying our Government. Surely this is using, at least, if not abusing, the privilege of franking letters. Mr. Bache, no doubt, can afford to *give away* papers in so good a cause.

This is the redoubtable hero who, a few years before, was sold for his passage from Ireland, and who, for his cowardice in the American war, was condemned by General Gates to wear a *wooden sword*.

[*Minerva.*]

MR. PORCUPINE,

I beg you will take the first opportunity to inform Mr. Matthew Carey, that there is, at this present

* I believe *acclamations* at the prospect of the death of a criminal, and in a court of justice too, is something new in America. We have but too often aped the follies and the deformities of the French; I hope we are not about to emulate them in ferocity also; but the *acclamations* in the court-house of New-York really bear some resemblance to the cannibal howlings at the revolutionary tribunals of Paris. Some future mail will, perhaps, inform us of the huzzaing audience dancing round the gallows *à la mode de Paris*.

time, a malignant fever prevalent among the cats in this city : now as the above gentleman has signalized himself on a former occasion of the like nature, it would be a pity that the business should go out of his hands—it was this fear which prompted me to request you to give him the first information of it, and he doubtless will reward me for my trouble, by presenting me with six copies of “ A short Account “ of the malignant Fever lately prevalent among the “ Cats in this City, with Notes *historical, biographical,* “ *and critical,* by MATTHEW CAREY.”

I remain, &c. &c.

THOMAS BUSYBODY.

N. B. If you should doubt the truth of this intelligence, I will send you a certificate of an old lady, who last week had six cats in perfect health, but now, oh sad reverse ! she has only three, very sick, the other three being consigned to an untimely grave.

Muir.—From the London papers it appears, that the two frigates, La Ninfa and Elena, taken by Sir John Jervis's fleet, had a few days before landed a rich cargo from the Havannah. *Muir*, who had made his escape from Botany Bay, and had taken passage in the La Ninfa, from the Havannah, *was killed the first shot which was fired by the British ships* *.

WEDNESDAY, 2^d AUGUST.

McLean, the Canada Traitor.—On Friday last came on before a special court of oyer and terminer the

* Thus did the malicious and unrelenting rebel at last receive his due ; and thus may every one of the insurgent scoundrels fall, struck by the avenging thunder of Britain, and covered with heaps, yea, with mountains of French and Spaniards !—N. B. The account of *Muir's* death has, since the above was written, proved to be premature ; but I think it right to preserve what I wrote about the scoundrel at the time.

trial of David M'Lean for high treason ; the indictment was opened by Mr. Caron ; and the case stated by the Attorney General. After the evidence for the Crown was closed, the prisoner desired to be heard in his own defence, which was granted. He began by thanking the court for the indulgence he had received, and after a short address to the jury on the subject of his innocence, he turned round and began to harangue the audience ; hereupon he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who informed him that a patient hearing should be given to whatever he might have to urge, but that it should be addressed to the court and jury, and not to the by-standers. The prisoner apologized for his ignorance in matters of form, and proceeded, in a speech of near an hour's length, to give an account of his life and connexions ; in the course of which he admitted most of the principal facts proved against him ; particularly that of having a certificate, signed by Adet, the French Minister, concealed in his shoe ; on all of which he attempted to put an innocent construction, and concluded with a fervent prayer to the Deity, that he would give the powers of utterance to his young counsel who were to speak in his behalf. Mr. Pyke and Mr. Franklyn, who had been assigned, were then heard for the prisoner, but they called no witnesses. The Attorney General made a very able reply, in which he commented on the prisoner's indiscretion in attempting his own defence, and clearly refuted all the pretexts he had set up, to the conviction of every body. The evidence was then summed up by the Chief Justice, who observed, that most of the overt acts charged, which were fourteen in number, were proved by three or four witnesses, many of whom (which was rarely the case in prosecutions of this sort) were not at all implicated in the crime.

The jury, after being out half an hour, returned with a verdict of *Guilty*. The prisoner, upon being asked

asked what he had to say, why judgment of death should not be passed on him, referred to his counsel, who moved two law points in arrest of judgment, which were answered by the Attorney General, and over-ruled by the court. The prisoner was again asked if he had any thing further to say, and answering nothing, the Chief Justice proceeded to give sentence, as nearly as we could collect it, to the following effect :

David McLean,

You have been indicted for the crime of high treason, to which indictment you pleaded Not guilty, and for your trial put yourself on God and the country, by which country you have been found guilty. You have been tried by a respectable and intelligent jury, many of whom have heretofore served on the grand inquest. Your trial has been attended with such circumstances of fairness, openness, and lenity, as do not obtain in any country upon earth, except where the laws of England prevail. More than twenty days have elapsed since you were acquainted with the particulars of the charge brought against you, and of the names of the witnesses to prove it, that you might not be surprised by a sudden accusation, and might have full time to prepare your defence. After the facts charged were fully established by the verdict, your counsel have been heard on every objection that could be brought to the regularity of the proceedings ; whereas, had you been accused of the like crime in that country whose government you would wish to impose on this province, instead of being allowed a period of twenty days, you might have been charged, convicted, and executed in less than so many minutes. Reflect, therefore, whether you have not been guilty of a most unjust attempt against this Government.

It appears in evidence that you are an alien to the King's Government ; notwithstanding which, you
have

have been treated with the same indulgence as though you had been a native subject. True it is, that a treaty of amity subsists between his Majesty and the United States, many of whose citizens have borne public testimony to the kindly offices received from the King's subjects; it is an intercourse we wish to cherish, as well with public bodies as with individuals; and as it is not probable that you personally have received an injury from this colony, you have been guilty of an unprovoked attempt against it.

Having heard of some disturbances that were excited on account of the road bill, you falsely concluded that his Majesty's Canadian subjects were disaffected to Government, and ready to join in a rebellion, which you were willing to conduct. You might have known, that it is easy to provoke murmurs on a like occasion in the best regulated states; in England similar discontents have taken place, and subsided, as in this country; for a short experience has convinced the people that the measure was greatly for their benefit. Putting conscience out of the question, as a prudent man, you had no grounds to go upon. No one, therefore, but a rash and unprincipled man would have engaged in so desperate an enterprise; and no one but a cruel and inhuman man would have projected such measures to carry it into execution. Consider then, whether you have not been guilty of a most atrocious and sanguinary attempt against this Government.

Perhaps you may think that these terms favour of a spirit of reproach—far from it; in your pitiable condition to betray such a temper were very unworthy. No—they are uttered in the spirit of admonition, and that upon this principle; you seem to possess a good understanding; I wish, therefore, to fasten on your mind the persuasion of this manifest truth, which nothing but the most perverse obstinacy can resist—namely, that though your designs were

were most hostile against this Government, yet you have experienced that fair trial you would not have met with in any other government under heaven; in hopes, that, when the mist of delusion shall have disappeared, the conviction of one truth may prepare your mind for the admission of others, and finally produce that sense of contrition and remorse, which can alone expiate your dangerously wicked crimes. Had your project been carried into execution, who is there in this numerous audience that would not have felt the consequence among his friends and relations, or in his own person? But as it has pleased Providence to baffle your pernicious designs, I shall press this subject no further. This Government, which you wish to overthrow, has, like all others, provided for its security against those who wish to destroy it. In the scrutiny of offences it is more lenient than others, but is equally severe in the punishment. That punishment you have justly incurred, and it would be highly uncharitable to beguile you with the expectation that it will not be inflicted. Let me, therefore, most seriously exhort you to employ the short time you have to live, in submitting yourself with humiliation and repentance to the Supreme Ruler of all things, whose goodness is equal to his power, and who, though you suffer here, may admit you to his everlasting mercy hereafter. That such mercy may be your portion, is my most earnest prayer.

It remains that I should discharge the painful duty of pronouncing the sentence of the law, which is: That you, David M'Lean, be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn to the place of execution, where you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive, and your bowels taken out and burnt before your face; then your head must be severed from your body, which
must

must be divided into four parts, and your head and quarters be at the King's disposal; and the Lord have mercy on your soul.

The trial lasted from seven o'clock in the morning till nine in the evening.

Britain's Dangers.—After reading the English news contained in this day's paper, I dare say the runaways from Britain and Ireland will begin to taste in imagination, the blood of their King, his family, and his servants. Indeed, seeing that what is afflictive to the hearts of all good men is cheering to theirs, there is but too much reason for the miscreants to rejoice; for surely such a succession of calamities never before pressed on a nation. After having exhausted her treasures for the defence of civilized Europe, she has been successively deserted by all her allies, several of whom have actually turned their arms against her. The credit of her Bank has received a rude shock, a rebellion is on foot in one of the kingdoms, a hardened and desperate faction is underworking the other two, and a mutiny has half disorganized her fleet, which has long been looked upon as her only bulwark. Yet, notwithstanding all this, let not Priestley and his gang give way to a too immoderate joy. Britain will outride the storm, perilous as it is: and *I live in hopes of seeing Geoge III. inflict vengeance on all his foes.* It is possible that he may yield to a peace, which at another time would be dishonourable; but under the present circumstances, no terms whatever can reflect dishonour on him or his faithful subjects. As to the rascally sailors, it will remain with their countrymen to repay them for their baseness. A lame beggar formerly, in order to ensure success to his solicitations, put on the garb of a Jack Tar: I am mistaken if, in future, such a garb will
not

not ensure him a horsewhipping or a post in the house of correction*.

THURSDAY, 3^d AUGUST.

Norfolk Mayor.—*From the Norfolk Herald, of 22^d July.*—MESSRS. PRINTERS, I have often read scurrilous publications, but must declare I never chanced upon such a vile production as that extracted into Monday's Herald, from Porcupine's Gazette of the 12th inst. Nothing, I am certain, but a wish to satisfy the curiosity of the numbers who crowded your office, could have induced you to republish such abominable trash. What! is it possible a fellow who has been brought up among the dregs of society, and under the lash of superiors (which I understand he often experienced), shall he be allowed thus wantonly to emit his bile against some of our most upright and independent characters? No, it must not be. He must not be allowed those liberties; if he is, there is no doubt but he will set us at variance with each other. To prevent which, it is my opinion, that the old *republican* practice of *tar and feathers* would be a means of putting a stop to his villanous career. It was our security against toryism, during our glorious revolution, and why

* Such were my reflections at the moment when the affairs of Great Britain appeared most gloomy. The English news, alluded to, contained fearful accounts of the mutiny at the Nore, of the distresses of the Bank, of the rebellion in Ireland, and of a new-projected embassy to *solicit peace* at the hands of the five despots. I never felt any thing like despair, unless it was at this time; and certainly the apparent situation of the kingdom was sufficient to strike despair into a stouter heart than mine. Till the mutiny in the fleet was added to the embarrassments of Great Britain, I could always see a way out; but I must confess that this rendered the gloom impenetrable.

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not try now what effect it may have on an unprincipled hireling? Peter has already proved himself to be the active hired slave, and a bold and barbarous assassin, employed by a potent faction, who bear little affection to the interest of this country, and who would gladly see us involved in a ruinous and ineffectual war. His remarks on the letters lately published, exhibit a specimen of unparalleled insolence. No name is secure against the unbridled licentiousness and scandalous aspersions of this pugilistic scribbler. But at his impudence we must not be astonished, when we are told that he is the pot companion of Ambassadors, aristocratic Senators and Representatives, and of a party, the chief of which, on delivering our Billingsgate hero his commission, spoke to him as follows:

“ Friend Cobbett, pursue your noble career for which you have certainly been formed; avenge us of our impotency against real republicans, by the prowess of your pen. We shall reward you for all the injuries, falsehoods, calumnies, and even nonsense, you shall, jointly with your coadjutor W. W——ks, pour upon republicans: and that the task, dear Cobbett, be not beyond your peculiar genius, we shall willingly dispense with either truth, sense, or judgment; but mind, dear Cobbett, we do not engage to secure you from tar and feathers!”

Since this noble speech, we find Master Billy Cobbett continues to bedevil every person averse to his party; by which means he reaps large portions of that precious metal that has so miraculously disappeared in his own country.

And so, Master Porcupine, you have your emissaries in the midst of us? You say a gentleman from Norfolk informed you, that our former Mayor was a crawler, and our present one a milkop. I can assure you that your worthy informant, as well as your lying self, must be little acquainted with our

present Mayor when you take him to be a milkfop. I know him to be a man of as independent a spirit as ever cudgelled your rascally carcass during the many years of your—to the right face!

One advice to Peter, ere I quit him, is, that “he makes his hay while the sun shines;” for he may rest assured real Americans will not long continue to bear with his envenomed pen.

A CITIZEN OF NORFOLK.

July 20, 1797.

ANSWER.

Citizen,

It is not common for one man to answer the letters addressed to another; but as I am a party in the present business, I shall take that liberty, however displeasing it may be to you. I have little doubt as to who you are; for, though the spitefulness of your present letter bears little resemblance to the tame and submissive style of that addressed to the Carmagnole Consul, it must be recollected that the Carmagnole was upon the spot, and had the bloody crews of Barney at his command, while I am at 300 miles distance. A citizen, particularly if a magistrate, uses different language under different circumstances.

You set out with observing, that you never before read so *vile a production* as the extract from my paper of the 12th of July, which was republished in the Norfolk Herald of the 19th. Perceiving, however, that this was paying no great compliment to the editors of that paper, you endeavour to smooth them down by saying, that you are “certain that “nothing but a wish to *satisfy* the curiosity of the “*numbers who crowded their office*, could have induced them to republish such *abominable trash*.”

Now,

Now, though this may be a tolerably good apology for Messrs. Willet and O'Connor, I take it, it is but a very poor one for the people of Norfolk, who assembled in such crowds to get a taste of the "*abominable trash*." Pretend not that this eagerness to come at the "*vile production*" was confined to the patrons of Porcupine; each of these received it by the post, and had consequently no need to crowd round the office of the Herald. Neither can you pretend that this eagerness was confined to a small portion of the inhabitants; for, besides your own acknowledgment of the necessity of republishing *to satisfy the crowd* of applicants, it may be observed, that, as between thirty and forty of my Gazettes go to Norfolk, each of which might be, and undoubtedly was, read by a number of persons, the demand for the "*abominable trash*" must have become pretty general, still to bring such crowds about the printing-office as obliged the editors to republish it.

Leaving your Worship to apologize for your townsmen's fondness for "*trash*" as handsomely as you have done for the vending of it to them, I now proceed to make a few observations on the only passage which you have thought proper to dedicate to the defence of yourself—I beg pardon; I meant the Mayor of Norfolk.

"I can assure you" (say you, addressing yourself to me), "that your lying self must be little acquainted with our present Mayor, when you take him for a milkop. I know him to be a man of as independent a spirit as ever cudgelled your rascally hide, &c." Good words, good milkop. Don't turn four all at once. I am sure you were sweet enough a little while ago.

As to an acquaintance with the Mayor, thank God I have none. I can therefore judge of the independence of his spirit by nothing but his corre-

spondence with the French Consul. This impudent fellow begins his letter by calling the people of Norfolk *assassins* and *cowards*; he says they united *in troops* to overwhelm a *single French officer*, and he *disarmed*: and sarcastically adds, that they amply *supply in numbers* their *deficiency in courage*.

Every accusation of this insolent Frenchman was false. The vile crews of Barney first began to abuse the people. They attacked them at Portsmouth (just across the river from Norfolk) on a Sunday; were guilty of every species of indecency, insult, and violence; and when one of them was taken into custody by a spirited magistrate of the name of Kearnes, the rest attacked the peace officers, stabbed the magistrate in the neck and thigh, and effected a rescue of their infamous companion. At another time, when the hand of justice had been laid on one of Barney's crew, the patriotic Commodore threatened to draw up his vessels and take vengeance, unless the villain was released—and the patriotic Mayor delivered him up. After this, was it to be wondered at that the insulted town should feel a hatred against the French? Was it to be wondered at, that individuals should show their resentment? Or was it to be expected that the poltroonery of the magistracy should communicate itself to the whole mass of the inhabitants? Several persons have had rencounters with the French; but, in no one instance, has a French man, or men, been attacked by superior numbers. The people of Norfolk have never shown themselves to be either "assassins" or "cowards." They have killed no man; they have attacked no man on disadvantageous terms, and, notwithstanding their former partiality for the French, they have shown a more manly determination to repress their insolence than any body of men, or any other town in the Union.

With what justice, then, I would be glad to know,

know, are the names of assassin and coward fixed on the people of Norfolk? and if unjustly, why are they not wiped off by the chief magistrate of the town? The accusation is contained in a letter addressed to him, which letter is published to the world; and if he thought it worthy of an answer, why did he not refute that accusation? Having undertaken to answer the letter; to defend the conduct of himself and his brother aldermen; to express his regret that any thing should happen to widen the breach between the two nations; in short, to answer every part of the letter, except that which styles the people of Norfolk *assassins* and *cowards*, his silence on that must be looked upon as a *tacit acknowledgment of the justice of the charge*.

I do not know how these names went down in Virginia: if they were *palatable*, all that I can say is, I am sorry for having spoiled the dish. But, if they were not, if they excited a general sentiment of indignation, which I have every reason to believe they did, I hope I shall be excused for endeavouring to make that sentiment as universally known as the slanderous accusation that called it forth.

I cannot conclude without remarking to you, Mr. Citizen, that by advising the Philadelphians *to tar and feather me*, your Worship has shown your *consistency* at least. Such a piece of advice was not unbecoming a man who can contentedly put up with the names of *assassin* and *coward*.

P. PORCUPINE,

Philadelphia, 3d August.

FRIDAY, 4th AUGUST.*Monroe's Correspondence with Mr. Pickering.**From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.*

SIR,

Philadelphia, July 6th, 1797.

It was my wish, after the receipt of your letter of the 22d August last, announcing my recall, to repair home without delay; but, as I did not receive that letter till some time in November, nor obtain my audience for taking leave of the French Government, till the 1st of January following, it was impossible for me to sail before the spring, without hazarding a winter passage, and to which I did not wish to expose my family. This explains the cause why I did not render myself here at a much earlier period.

I postponed my reply to that letter till my arrival, because I deemed it more suitable, for many reasons, to answer it in my own country, than from a foreign one. I think proper, however, to call your attention to the subject of that letter, with a view to justify myself against any imputations that have been, or were intended to be raised against me, by the measures it announced.

I observed by that letter, that although you found this measure principally on the ground taken in that of the 13th of June preceding, yet you intimate there were "other concurring circumstances," which had weight in deciding the Executive in its favour. The object of this, therefore, is to request of you a statement of what those circumstances were, that, correctly knowing, I may distinctly answer them. To the suggestions contained in yours of the 13th of June I shall likewise make such further reply as appears now to be necessary.

I request this statement as a matter of right, and upon the principle, that, although the Executive possesses

possesses the power to censure and remove a public minister, yet it is a power which ought to be exercised according to the rules of justice; which rules are too well defined by the principles of our government, to require illustration here. I make this request, therefore, in a confidence that you will comply with it, as soon as you can with convenience. With due respect, &c.

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.

SIR, *Philadelphia, July 8th, 1797.*

Upon leaving Paris I committed my letter-book to the care of Mr. Prevost, and, after his departure, of Mr. Skipwith, sealed up, for General Pinckney, in case he arrived while either of those gentlemen was there; to furnish him with such light upon affairs, as he did not derive from your department, when he left this. I had previously given General Pinckney copies of some papers which he found necessary upon his first arrival; so that, in a possible case, I trust your wish was fulfilled in possessing him with such documents as have been, or may be necessary, for some time to come. I think proper, however, to suggest the propriety of such a complete copy being furnished from your office, as you seem to deem necessary, for our Representative at Paris; since, when I arrived there, no paper whatever was furnished me by my predecessor, either of his own correspondence, of Mr. Jefferson's, or Dr. Franklin's. I have thought it my duty to state to you, *how I found and left* this business; to enable you to make such disposition therein, according to the rules of your department, as is thought suitable.

I shall be absent from this city till Thursday next; at which time I shall be happy to receive an answer to the letter I had the pleasure to write you yesterday.

Your most obedient, &c.

From the same to the same.

SIR, Philadelphia, July 15th, 1797.

I think proper to apprize you of my return to this city, and to request the favour of an answer to my letter of the 6th instant. I am, with due respect, &c.

From the Secretary of State to Mr. Monroe.

Department of State.

SIR, Philadelphia, July 17th, 1797.

I duly received your letters of the 6th and 8th instant, the latter stating the disposition you had made of the letters and papers relating to your mission to the French Republic, for the use of your successor. Your intended absence, as mentioned in your letter of the 8th, and the pressure of public business, on the eve of the departure of our Minister for Europe, induced the delay of an answer to this time.

The request contained in your letter of the 6th, was unexpected. It is easy to conceive that the President of the United States may be possessed of facts and information, which would not only justify, but require the recall of a foreign minister, or the dismissal of an officer at home, although they should not furnish ground for a legal investigation. When the tenure of public offices (that of the Judges excepted) was *deliberately* and *confidentially* placed in the *pleasure* of the President of the United States, it certainly was not contemplated to rest the propriety or expediency of particular acts of that pleasure or discretion, by a formal trial, or a public discussion. These remarks, I trust, exhibit satisfactory reasons why I cannot undertake to comply with your request. I am, Sir, &c.

From

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.

SIR, *Philadelphia, July 19th, 1797.*

I have been favoured with yours of the 17th instant, and answer it without delay.

If you suppose that I would submit, in silence, to the injurious imputations that were raised against me by the Administration, you were mistaken. I set too high a value upon the blessings of an honest fame, and have too long enjoyed that blessing, in the estimation of my countrymen, to suffer myself to be robbed of it by any description of persons, and under any pretence whatever.

Nor can I express the astonishment which the present conduct of the Administration excites in my mind; for I could not believe, till it was verified by the event, after having denounced me to my country, as a person who had committed some great act of misconduct, and censured me for such supposed act, by deprivation from office, that when I called upon you for a statement of the charge against me, with the facts by which you support it, I should find you disposed to evade my demand, and shrink from the inquiry. Upon what principle does the Administration take this ground, and what are its motives for it?

Do you suppose or contend that the power committed to the Executive by the constitution, to remove and censure a public minister, or any other public servant, has authorized it so to do, without a sufficient cause? or that the Executive is not accountable to the public, and the party injured, for such an act, in like manner as it is accountable for any and every other act it may perform by virtue of the constitution? Upon what principle is a discrimination founded, which presumes restraints in certain cases against the abuse of executive power, and leaves that power without restraint, in all other cases?

cases ? And how do you designate, or where draw the line between these two species of power, so opposite in their nature and character ? This doctrine is against the spirit of our constitution, which provides a remedy for every injury. It is against the spirit of elective government, which considers every public functionary as a public servant. It becomes the meridian of those countries only, where the monarch inherits the territory as his patrimony, and the people who inhabit it, as his slaves.

That the right to censure and remove a public officer was delegated to the Executive, with peculiar confidence, is a motive why it should be exercised with peculiar care ; for the more confidential the trust which is committed to a public functionary, in a responsible station, the greater circumspection he should use in the discharge of it. It was not intended thereby to dispense with the principles of justice, or the unalienable rights of freemen, in favour of executive pleasure. On the contrary, it was expected, that that pleasure would be exercised with discretion, and that those principles and rights would be invariably observed. It is an incompetent recompense to a person who has been injured by the Executive, to be told that the constitution permits the injury, if the power intrusted was thereby abused, and the principles of the constitution violated. And it is an unbecoming measure in the Administration, to defend by the argument of power, what it cannot justify at the tribunal of reason and justice.

I have been injured by the Administration, and have a right to redress. Imputations of misconduct have been raised against me by it, and I have a right to vindicate myself against them. I have invited you to state and substantiate your charge, if you have any ; and I repeat again the invitation. You suggest that you have facts and information
which

which warrant the procedure. Let me know them, as likewise your informers, that I may be able to place this act of the Executive, and my own conduct, in the light in which they respectively merit to stand.

The situation of the United States has become, in many respects, a very critical one; and it is of importance that the true cause of this crisis be distinctly known. You have endeavoured to impress the public with a belief that it proceeded, in some respect, from me: why, then, do you evade the inquiry? Is it because you know that the imputation was unjust, and wish to avoid the demonstration of a truth you are unwilling to acknowledge? or, that you fear a discussion, which may throw light upon a topic heretofore too little understood? I am, with due respect, &c.

From the same to the same.

July 19th, 1797.

Mr. Monroe presents his compliments to Col. Pickering. He wishes to revise his correspondence in the Department of State, and for that purpose will thank him for the assignment of a chamber in his office, with the aid of a clerk, for a few days, till he can run through it. He hopes an answer to this immediately, if convenient.

From the same to the same.

Philadelphia, July 24th, 1797.

Mr. Monroe requests to know of Colonel Pickering, whether and when he is to expect an answer to his letter of the 19th inst. as likewise to his note of the same date.

From Mr. Pickering to Mr. Monroe.

July 24th, 1797.

Col. Pickering informs Mr. Monroe, that his absence last week, and engagements previous to the departure

departure of the President for Boston, prevented an answer to Mr. Monroe's letter of the 19th, and his note of the same date; which, however, Mr. Monroe may expect to-morrow.

From the Secretary of State to Mr. Monroe.

Department of State.

SIR, *Philadelphia, July 24th, 1797.*

I have read attentively your letter of the 19th ult. but discover in it no arguments to induce a change of the opinion expressed to you in my letter of the 17th.

I understand you to contend, that every Minister of the United States who is recalled, and every other public officer who is removed from office by the Executive of the United States, has a right to demand, and be informed of the reasons and motives for the recall or removal. In all cases except that of the Judges, it has been established from the time of organizing the government, that removals from offices should depend on the pleasure of the executive power: and you know that, with the above exception, the commissions of all officers, civil and military, appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, explicitly declare that they hold their offices "during the pleasure of the President of the United States." Hence I conclude, that a compliance with your request might form an improper, inconvenient, and unwise precedent.

In my letter of the 17th I remarked, that "it is easy to conceive that the President of the United States may be possessed of facts and information, which would not only justify, but require the recall of a foreign minister, or the dismissal of an officer at home, although they should not furnish ground for a legal investigation." For instance; communications might be received,

received, entitled to credit, but under restrictions which would not permit a disclosure; while, to admit the principle you contend for, would be to shut the door to intelligence of infidelity in public officers; especially in diplomatic agents, who, residing in foreign countries, are removed from the immediate observation of their own Government.

Again, the want of confidence, from whatever cause it may arise, is a good reason for changing a diplomatic agent. If he is found on experience to be deficient in judgment, skill, or diligence, or if circumstances inspire a reasonable doubt of the sincerity of his views, he cannot with prudence be continued; for it is essential that there should be full confidence in him. A diplomatic agent, although his official communications have a fair appearance, may hold intimate and improper correspondences, on political subjects, with men known to be hostile to the Government he represents, and whose actions tend to its subversion. He may even, from mistaken views of the interests of his own country, countenance and invite a conduct in another, derogatory from its dignity, and injurious to those interests.

The foregoing are cases, in which the necessary confidence of a Government must be abated or destroyed: and yet the circumstances might be such as could not prudently be brought to a formal discussion. More may be imagined to establish the principle, that, in regard to various public officers, it is essential that there should be a discretion to remove, without an obligation to assign reasons. In the case of a diplomatic character, they apply with extraordinary force.

It is not true that a removal from office necessarily implies actual misconduct. It may merely imply a want of ability. Or in respect to a Minister,

ter, it may imply only a change in political affairs, which demands, or renders expedient for the public good, the substitution of a different character.

Still another instance may be mentioned, in which a demand like yours could not be complied with. A President of the United States may, on good grounds, which he reserves to himself, remove a public officer, previous to his retiring from office; in which case no officer, in the succeeding Administration, could possibly assign the motives for the removal.

These reasons, I conceive, are sufficient to justify the determination, taken in my letter of the 17th inst. and render unnecessary a particular examination of your observations, or answers to your numerous questions. There is no disposition to treat you, or any other man, with injustice; but the Government cannot, for the sake of indulging your sensibility, sacrifice a great national principle.

I will conclude with one remark. I agree with you that the President, in using that *pleasure* with which the constitution has invested him for the removal of public officers, is bound to exercise it with discretion; but I deny that he is bound on every occasion to explain and justify his conduct to the individual removed from office: which, beside other objections, would expose the Executive to perpetual altercations and controversies with the officers removed.

In answer to your note of the 19th instant, I inform you, that the revision of your correspondence with the Department of State, which you request, may take place with the aid of a clerk, when it shall suit your own convenience.

I am, with due respect, &c.

From

From Mr. Pickering to Mr. Monroe.

SIR,

Philadelphia, July 25, 1797.

It has been deemed improper, for the reasons assigned in my official letters, to attempt an official explanation of the reasons and motives which influenced the late President in terminating your functions as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the French Republic. This I shall not venture to do, in any capacity. But it is in my power, as an individual citizen, to communicate the considerations which induced me, last summer, when called upon by the President, in the line of my office, to advise that this measure should be taken. If, in this form, my sentiments will give you any satisfaction, and you desire to receive them, they shall be furnished.

I have conversed with Mr. McHenry and Mr. Lee on this subject, and in the like form you may receive their sentiments respectively. Mr. Wolcott being absent, I can say nothing in respect to him.

I am, with due respect, &c.

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.

SIR,

Philadelphia, July 30, 1797.

I received and attended to your official letter of the 24th, and your private one of the 25th instant, and shall now reply to both.

Permit me to premise, that in any discussion which has, or may take place between us, I have not, nor shall I consider you in any other than your official character, having yet to learn what your pretensions are to confidence as an individual citizen, or the weight which your opinion ought to have as such, especially in the present case.

I think proper now to observe, that when I called upon you for an explanation of the motives of the Administration in making this attack upon me, it

was not with a view to derive any information for myself. I have been too long and too well acquainted with the political conduct, principles, and views of the Administration, not to know what its motives were in that respect, without any aid from you. Indeed, knowing what my conduct was, and what your views are, of which a series of facts and circumstances leave no doubt on my mind, I had no expectation of obtaining from you any thing like a candid answer. On the contrary, I expected an evasive one, dealing in hints and innuendos thrown out to divert the mind from the true object of inquiry. Nor have I been disappointed in my expectation; for I am persuaded that no impartial person can read your several letters upon this subject without entertaining the same opinion of them.

I expected even a disguise of the real motive, and by every possible artifice which interest or ingenuity could suggest, because I knew the real motive could not be avowed; and such, I am persuaded, will be the opinion of every impartial person who, after reading your letters, traces the true motive, by a correct analysis of those facts and circumstances to which I allude.

I called upon you in that spirit of candour which I have always observed towards the Administration and others, and to give you an opportunity to justify your conduct by your own arguments, and thereby place it in the light you wished it to stand. But this you have refused to do, and for reasons the most extraordinary: in calling upon you, then, I have acted consistently with my own principles; and in refusing to comply, you have taken a ground for which the Administration is responsible.

I forbear to discuss again the solidity of that principle which supposes every public officer of the United States (the Judges excepted) a menial servant to the President; a principle which, if established,

banishes from the bosom of every such officer all regard for country, every noble and patriotic sentiment; and makes him dependant, not upon the integrity and propriety of his own conduct, but upon the personal favour of his superior. If such were the case, what confidence could the people of America repose in any public functionary, since, after he gets into office, whatever may have been his character before, he sinks into a machine, and ceases to be a watchful centinel over the public rights and interests? If such were the case, the principles and practice of our free government are departed from, and the most slavish doctrines of the most slavish governments are introduced in their stead; and that such must be the case is obvious, if the Executive can exercise the discretion you speak of in the pleasurable manner you contend for, and without accounting for any of its acts, or the motives of them, in any case, to the party injured, the public, or any person whatever. This doctrine merits the attention of the people of America, because it is a pernicious one. They have provided in the constitution they have adopted, a suitable mode for the appointment of public officers, and which supposes a due regard to be paid to the characters of those who are appointed, and with a view that they may be faithfully served. They pay to their public officers, President and all, liberally, and ought to be faithfully served. They have likewise provided for, and with a supervision of the superior over the inferior; but I trust it is their intention that the merits and character of the latter should be estimated by the standard of his integrity and public services, and not by the whim, caprice, or any less worthy motive of those above him.

Nor shall I discuss the solidity of the principles, or the policy of the practice, you have adopted, of opening a door in your office for the reception of spies and informers, to whose communications, it ap-

pears, implicit faith is given, although their names, their characters, and even the purport of their denunciations be withheld. This practice is of great antiquity, and is now in use in the despotic governments of Europe, but I hoped never to see it transplanted to this side of the Atlantic; especially in the degree to which you extend it. I dismiss these topics from view, because they are only incidental to the main object of inquiry, and involve principles in which I am not interested otherwise than in common with every other American citizen. I have noticed them, however, that their tendency may be correctly understood.

But I think proper to make a few comments upon the hints and innuendos contained in your letter of the 24th, and with a view to place them, and your conduct in making them, in their true light.

You suggest many cases which, provided they existed, you say, would justify the Executive in the removal and censure of a public minister, or other officers; such, for example, as a "defect of judgment, skill, or diligence; the want of confidence in him by the Administration; his holding improper correspondence with men known to be hostile to the government he represents, and whose actions tend to its subversion; his countenancing and inviting, from a mistaken view of the interest of his own country, a conduct in another derogatory from, and injurious to, those interests, &c." The existence of any of these cases, you say, would justify the removal of any public minister.

It is not my intention to contest with you abstract principles; because I will readily admit, that if a public officer be *incompetent* to the duties of his office, whether it proceed from want of judgment, skill, or diligence; if he be the *tool* or *partisan* of another country against the *honour* and *interest* of his own; or be *associated* with *foreigners* of any description

tion whatever, or with the *agents* or *creatures* of foreign powers, in promoting any plan of *conspiracy*, against *insurrection* in, or *disorganization* of, his own country; that in any and every such case, such officer, whether he be employed at *home* or *abroad*, ought to be dismissed and disgraced, or rather severely punished; for disgrace upon those who are capable of committing such enormities, is no punishment at all. But do you mean to apply any of these imputations to me? If so, why not avow it, and present your proof? Would it not be more manly so to do, than to deal in innuendo and insinuation, which, without making you responsible for any charge, are perhaps intended to be understood as such? Or do you hope that we shall take these innuendos for fact without your declaring them to be so, or producing any testimonies to support them? This might, perhaps, promote your views in the present case, but would certainly not promote the cause of truth.

With respect to the clamour which is so incessantly raised (and of which you seem disposed to avail yourself in the present instance) of danger to the Government from the exercise of freedom of opinion in debate and writing, or of your insinuation that I had improper correspondence with any such persons, it is one which merits no reply. I have no correspondent in whom I repose confidence, who has not given, at least, as strong proof of his attachment to good government and good order, and who is not as much interested (perhaps much more so) in the preservation of those blessings as yourself, or any of those who make the loudest clamour on that subject. Nor have I had a communication with any person or persons whilst employed abroad, or at any other time, of a public nature, but with a view to preserve the Government and the Union *entire*; always seeking to counteract the

disuniting, disorganizing projects of those who *secretly* wish to subvert them. Do you know of any correspondence of mine exhibiting an opposite character, or having an opposite tendency? If you do, produce it, and then we will discuss this point farther. But till then I shall consider this innuendo like the others, as being thrown out only to obscure the subject, and divert the mind from the true object of inquiry.

And upon the point of confidence between the Administration and myself, with respect to the period of its commencement and termination on both sides (if, indeed, it ever existed on theirs in the view in which I believed it did), with the cause which created and destroyed it, I shall say but little at present, because it is a very important one, and requires to be more fully illustrated than the nature of this communication will admit of. This point involves in it the whole policy of the Administration in my mission and recall, and will, I think, when fully understood, tend essentially to illustrate the conduct, principles, and views of the Administration during this great and interesting crisis of human affairs. I think proper, however, to observe here, that whatever may be the opinion of the world as to the merits of the Administration in these respects, or of its conduct towards me through the whole of my mission, I can show in the most satisfactory manner, that my political character and principles, whilst a member of the American Senate, and whilst Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States with the French Republic, were always the same; and that in both stations, and in every vicissitude of our affairs, it was the constant and laborious effort of my life to preserve peace, harmony, and perfect amity between the two republics. I can show, too, that those efforts had produced, and were still producing, a good effect, of which the Administration had full knowledge

knowledge at the very moment when it endeavoured to impress the public with a belief that I had failed to do my duty.

The Administration may, perhaps, find it hereafter expedient to explain why I was invited to accept that mission, and confided in at that time; and why that confidence was withdrawn afterwards. Were my political character and principles less known in the former stage than in the latter? I presume not; for, at the time when I was invited to accept this mission to the French Republic, I was a member of the Senate of the United States, and had acted with such decision upon all topics which came before that body as to leave no doubt with any one what my political principles were. Was there any particular object in view, depending anywhere, at the former period, and which my appointment to the French Republic might then promote? And did the accomplishment of that object produce a change in the policy of the Administration towards that republic, and of what nature was that object? I suggest these ideas incidentally only, and without meaning to go fully into them.

So much I have thought proper to say in reply to the hints and innuendos contained in your letter of the 24th, and which, I presume, will fully explain your motives in making them. I will now proceed to another point of more importance in the present inquiry.

The change in the political situation of the United States is too obvious and interesting not to attract the attention and excite the sensibility of even those who are the least observant. A few years past, the name of America was a venerable name in the catalogue of nations. It commanded the respect and drew the sympathetic attention of all powers and of all men. Her commerce and her agriculture flourished hand in hand, and her people were happy;

beloved by her ancient friends, and dreaded by her ancient foes, there was no cloud in the political horizon to darken her prospects. A coalition of tyrants, it is true, whose avowed object it was to extirpate liberty from off the face of the globe, excited uneasiness for a while. Soon, however, the strong and potent arm of Republicanism crushed its efforts, and averted the storm. But what reverse has now taken place; and where will the catastrophe end? Our national character has not only already greatly declined, and our commerce and agriculture greatly suffered, but we are upon the point of being involved in a war with our ancient and deserving ally, now become a republic after our example, and on the side of the remnants of that same coalition which was lately armed against the liberties of the world. Strange and almost incredible event indeed! By what means has this change been produced? Much has been said and done by the Administration, not simply to exculpate itself from all blame in that respect, but to criminate others, and, when called upon, to state and substantiate its charges. What has been the result? Let your letters show.

It is now time to close this subject, and to bring into view an important question which must be decided on. Has the Administration performed its duty to its country in these great concerns, and acquitted itself to the public as it ought to have done? In my judgment it has not. Might we not have avoided this crisis by other and obvious measures more consistent with our national honour and interest, and without exposing ourselves to any real danger whatever? In my judgment we might. In this latter view the subject acquires new importance, and is entitled to more particular attention.

You will readily perceive that our fellow-citizens in general are deeply interested in the several points in discussion between us; to whom it likewise belongs

longs to estimate yours and my conduct; and I now think proper to inform you, that it is my intention to carry the subject before that enlightened and impartial tribunal, with all the lights which I possess.

I am, Sir, with due respect, &c.

From Mr. Monroe to the Secretary of State.

July 31, 1797.

Mr. Monroe requests Col. Pickering to inform his colleagues that the evident impropriety of his having any communication otherwise than with the Administration itself upon an act for which he holds the Administration responsible, precludes his receiving from them, as individual citizens, any information whatever respecting the motives which governed them in the case referred to. He declined this with the greater pleasure, because the course he finds it necessary to adopt for examination and developement of this subject, generally offers to those gentlemen, as individual citizens, an opportunity to communicate the motives of their conduct, in that case, to the community at large, through which channel only can he attend to them*.

Noah

* Thus is Citizen Monroe following close upon the heels of the "Knight of the *distinguished* Order." All the Ministers of France, and that of her *natural allies*, having made their *appeal from the Government to the people*, our discarded Ministers, our own *distinguished* knights, are following their example, lest the excellent practice should grow out of fashion.

It is very probable that the Government will not condescend to enter into a detail of the reasons for recalling this frenchified American Minister; but that sufficient reasons existed, every one, except a few hoodwinked idiots, is very well convinced of. General as this conviction is, however, I cannot promise that I shall forbear to bring forward those actions of his, which, I am certain, without any thing more, ought to have produced his recall. Let him go on with his *vindication*, and then let him prepare himself for a salute from my battery.

At present I shall only observe, that it is my sincere opinion, that his first letter to Mr. Pickering was written on the other side

Noah Webster says, that the Members of Parliament, "in opposition to Administration, have made their last effort to stem the *tide of ministerial and crown influence* by a proposition for a reform in the national representation. We have not the whole of the debates; but Mr. Fox's question is one of the most luminous displays of argument and eloquence that has ever adorned the debates of Parliament. He declares, and we are strongly inclined to believe his opinion to be just, that such a reform is the last and only chance to save the present constitution *."

SATURDAY, 5th AUGUST.

Spanish Minister.—Mr. PORCUPINE, Among the charges alleged against the Secretary of State by

of the water, probably by his friend Barras himself. That it is a translation from the French, no one who pays attention to the phraseology of it, can doubt for a moment. For instance: "This explains the cause why I did not *render myself here* at a much earlier period."—Do we ever make use of this idiom in English? No; we say, "This is the reason why I did not *return hither*—why I did not *come home*"—or some such expression. What should we think of a man who, coming too late for dinner, were to say: "I beg pardon for not *rendering myself sooner*;" or of another, who should say to his friend: "Do me the pleasure to render yourself to my house this evening." Should we not say at once, that the speakers were foreigners? The French say: *Je ne me rendois pas ici*; that is, *I did not render myself here*; and I defy the discarded Minister to find me such a mode of expression in any other language whatever. In ours, it is so far from being in use, that it is absolutely without meaning, and could not possibly have been adopted but by a translator who thought a strict adherence to the letter of his original paramount to every other consideration.

* Thus is poor Noah, from being the eulogist of Mr. Pitt, become a convert to the pauper and his crew. This is most abominable, to be sure; yet I cannot say but I love to see him *slift*. He does it in such a plausible way, and with so much gravity. He really holds a candle to the Devil with the best grace of any man I ever saw.

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the Spanish Minister, there is but one which does not carry its own refutation on its forehead ; and that one, though capable of an easy and complete answer by a recurrence to dates and a few well-known facts, seems to have escaped the attention of those writers who have commented with so much spirit and justice on the other parts of the attack. I allude to that part of the Spanish Minister's publication where he accuses the Secretary of State with having delayed for several days to lay before the President certain intimations which he had communicated respecting an intended expedition against Louisiana from Canada. This intimation, the Minister says, was made on the 2d of March ; and that on the 9th he had an interview with the President, who had not then heard of it. From the printed correspondence it appears, that on the 11th of March it had been laid before the President, and an answer given. Without remarking on the impertinence of a foreign Minister's talking to the President about public affairs, the only proper channel for which he knew to be the Secretary of State ; or the indecency of detailing in the newspapers the particulars of a private and unofficial conversation, I will content myself with calling the attention of your readers to the date of this transaction. The 2d of March was one day before the late President was to retire from his office. To make the communication to him, therefore, would have been futile, because it would not have been possible for him to act upon it ; there not being time to make the necessary previous inquiries before his functions must expire. The same consideration would have rendered it improper to communicate even the Minister's verbal information, which he says that he gave three days sooner ; for with the addition of those three days, it was impossible to imagine that the President could take any steps in the business. Was it not better, therefore, to defer the communication till the new President should come into office,

fice, and make it to him? Every body, moreover, knows the press of public business at that moment. It was so great, that Congress sat almost the whole day of the 2d, and until past eleven o'clock on the night of the 3d. From the journals of the two Houses it appears, that as many as twenty-eight acts and resolutions, some of them very long ones, were approved by the President on those two days, 'in the course of which most of them had been sent to him. It is well known that he hardly had time to read them; and on the 3d was actually obliged at an early hour to leave the company at his own table for that purpose.—Under all these circumstances it was hardly to be expected, one would think, that the Secretary of State should immediately, without previous inquiry, run with this new affair to the President, overwhelmed as he was with business, and just at the moment of quitting the office. On the 4th, at twelve o'clock, the new President entered on his functions. He could not immediately in the course of that afternoon go to work; unless, indeed, some great and pressing affair had demanded his attention. It may be said that his active duties did not commence till the morning of the 5th. Whoever will reflect on the great variety of affairs which must have pressed on his attention at that moment, from all the departments, with the business and situation of which, especially that of state, comprising foreign affairs, it was his duty to make himself immediately acquainted; and will at the same time recollect, that, from the morning of the 4th and 5th to the 11th, when the Spanish Minister received an answer to his communication, only six days had elapsed, will be inclined to wonder at the dispatch used in this trivial affair. I call it trivial, not with respect to the thing itself, but to the information on which it rested, and which amounted to nothing more than a vague and general intimation from a foreign Minister,

nister, unsupported by proofs of any kind, accompanied by no details or particular facts on which the Government could act, and since proved to have been wholly unfounded; for it will be observed, in all that has transpired of Blount's conspiracy, there is not one word, nor even a hint about an expedition from Canada.—And yet the Secretary of State is abused in the most opprobrious manner by this person, who forgets equally what is due to decorum and self-respect; and the vilest insinuations are levelled against his character and public conduct, because six days were suffered to elapse before the President, pressed as he was by the weight and multiplicity of public business which demanded his attention at the moment of coming into office, was troubled with an intimation of this kind!—After all, had this delay been longer, or less necessary, the Spanish Minister should have been the last person on earth to complain of it; for he had himself been guilty of a much greater in an affair of far superior importance; and where he had not even the appearance of a plausible excuse. On the 16th of March, as appears by the same printed correspondence, the Secretary of State, by order of the President, applied to this Minister to know whether any, and what steps had been taken by the Spanish Government for evacuating the posts on the Mississippi. He saw no answer till the 17th of April. On that day he acknowledged the receipt of the letter, and declared that he had been prevented from answering it “by an indisposition from which he had not yet fully recovered. In this interval however, of a month and a day, it is perfectly well known that he was not prevented from transacting business at home, or going abroad; and yet he was prevented from giving an answer to a letter officially addressed to him, as he knew, by express order of the President, and relating to a subject of no less importance than

than the execution of a treaty ! His letter of the 17th is very short ; merely stating that he was furnished with no information whether arrangements were made or not for evacuating the posts. This short answer he was for a whole month prevented from giving by an indisposition which did not even confine him to his house for a fortnight. It is indeed a fact, the undeniable proof of which exists, and will appear before the public in due time, that on or about the 20th of March, four days after the Secretary of State's letter was written, and when in common civility it should already have been answered, the Spanish Minister did receive persons on business, and wrote at considerable length. He knows that proof of this fact exists out of his power, and therefore he will not contradict it. What then must be thought of his assertion, that he was prevented for a month by indisposition from answering the important and official inquiry of the Secretary of State ? The answer itself, when he did give it, was as little conformable to a candid and friendly conduct as the delay was to good manners, or the excuse for it to truth. Though evasively and ambiguously expressed, it is calculated to convey the idea that he did not know whether the treaty was about to be executed or not.—His words are : “ Several months have elapsed since I received a letter from the Baron de Carondelet, and of course I am deprived of any information touching the steps taken for the execution of the treaty.” This is even calculated to leave an impression, that the treaty was to be executed, though he was not informed of the steps taken for that purpose. Setting aside the impossibility of believing that a Spanish Minister here should have been several months without receiving letters from the Governor of a Spanish province adjoining our territories, with whom it was his custom and his duty to correspond,
it

it remains perfectly certain that this man, while he was pretending to know nothing about the matter, and leaving our Government under an impression that the treaty was going into execution, knew perfectly well that it would not be executed: for it appears from the same printed correspondence, that at the time of writing this answer he had giveno the Baron de Carondelet that information about the invasion from Canada, all the particulars whereof he concealed from our Government, highly interested as it was in knowing them, and which was immediately made the pretext for withholding the posts on the Mississippi. When the people of America shall have reflected on these facts, and compared them with the printed correspondence, and the letter of the Spanish Minister, they will decide how far his conduct has been consistent with decency, his assertions with truth, or his charges against the Secretary of State with justice and propriety.

CIVIS.

SYMPATHY.

However various are the minds of men,
 Howe'er in general points they disagree,
 Yet are they mostly bound in one fine chain,
 Which is no *less than gentle sympathy.*
 Almost in every breast it slyly steals
 When hearing stories of congenial woe;
 And much we fear for those who suffer ills,
 Which we have known, or which *we fear to know.*
 Tell Jack the sportsman you have lost your son,
 He hums a tune, and says he's very sorry;
 But tell him you have broke a favourite gun;
 He swears and sighs,—'tis quite a different story.
 Tell *Bache* that babbling GILES has *lost his tongue*,
 The hireling says he's sorry for't, or so;
 But, do but hint that *Lloyd* or *Carey's bung*,
 He'll die with fear, or break his heart with woe.

American Patriotism.—Hugh Connolly, of New-York, is on board a French European privateer, acting

ing as an officer.—One of the French privateers, mentioned in our last to be taken by the English, actually belonged to New-York: her name was altered.

Monroe.—When Citizen Monroe was called to account by the health-officers for coming on shore without the usual formalities, he pleaded *ignorance of the laws and regulations* of that office; in consequence of which, the pilot was about to lose his place for neglecting to inform him of them. The man pleaded Not guilty, and applied to the Citizen for a *certificate of his having given him all the necessary information on the subject*, which certificate, we understand, *was immediately given!*—Let us hope, therefore, that, in the *vindication* which the Citizen is preparing, he will have the modesty to advance nothing upon his *own veracity*.

Scratch for Scratch.—Extract from the Salem Gazette.—“In the *neat, elegant, and classical* paper, called “*The Farmer’s Weekly Museum*, we find the following handsome tribute to editorial merit:—“We are much pleased with the style and arrangement of the original poetical articles in the *Centinel* and “*Salem Gazette*. The editor of the first has long been celebrated for the *naïveté* of his paragraphs; and the *summary and poetical selections* of the last, “are superior to any thing of the kind in America’.”

What would you think of a man who should stop you in the street to tell you, that Miss such a one thought him a very handsome fellow? Would you not set him down for a fop of most incorrigible vanity? And what then do you think of the editor of the *Salem Gazette*, who stops you in the midst of his news, to tell you that the *neat, elegant, and classical Farmer’s Museum* has given his *summary and poetical selections*

selections the preference to every thing of the kind in America ?

I by no means wish to call in question the merits of the *Farmer's Museum*, or that of either of the papers it so candidly and liberally commends ; but I do call in question the propriety of either of those papers becoming the vehicle of these commendations. At any rate, if the editor of the *Salem Gazette* must regale us with this “ *handsome tribute of editorial merit*,” he should have forborne to accompany it with an eulogium on the paper from whence this tribute was taken : for though one good turn may, and certainly does, deserve another ; though the mountebank doctor claps the clown on the back, and the clown claps the doctor, every spectator of common sense, though he laughs at their tricks, despises them both.

Theophilanthropists.—“ A society,” says a late French paper, “ has lately been formed in Paris, which every friend to morality must regard with pleasure. It is called the society of *Theophilanthropists, or Worshipers of God and Friends of Man*. They regularly observe the sabbath on every seventh day, corresponding to Sunday, giving the title of *Moral and Religious Festivals* to their general meetings, which take place on this day at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Their exercises consist in reading and speaking, interspersed with singing. The principles and forms adopted by this institution are such, that it cannot be considered as an exclusive religious sect : its object is to recall to the practice of religious worship those who are now attached to no particular form ; at the same time that its exercises may be observed as moral practices by the disciples of all religions. This society does not pretend to establish a particular sect, neither abjuring nor opposing the principles of any other. They have no rites, no priesthood. Their design is to bring forward no opinion but what may suit the
moral

moral and religious opinion of every country. It is the easier for them to keep within these bounds, as their tenets are such, that every one must agree in their morality; such as can occasion no sectarian disputes; and the name they have assumed comprehending the two principal objects of every sect, their duty to God and their fellow-men.—A second society is formed on the same principles, with this difference, that the days of worship are celebrated on the decades, on every tenth day, at the same place and hour with the former *.”

MONDAY, 7th AUGUST.

French Character, Principles, and Views: by a southern Gentleman.—Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in the southward, to his friend in this city, in consequence of the latter having sent him a copy of Mr. Harper's pamphlet.

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for the mark of your remembrance, which you have been kind enough to send me. I have read it with much pleasure, and am glad to see such a collection of interesting information so well commented upon. I only hope it will be as extensively circulated. I feel great satisfaction in being able to say, that I agree with the author most perfectly in his opinions of French views and French principles, and the necessity of resisting French insolence and encroachments. It is truly ridiculous to hear them still talking of their

* French *pitié* is of a very convenient kind. They laid it by while they butchered all the valuable part of the nation, and let loose the ragamuffins of other nations to imitate their example; but now the rascals have acquired some plunder (for this hypocritical pretence about religion is a mere political trick); now they want to preserve what they have stolen, they are endeavouring to re-humanize the savages that surround them.

generosity.

generosity, and our obligations, while the only Frenchman perhaps who essentially promoted the establishment of American independence, was Mr. De Grasse, the day on which he broke his instructions and hazarded an engagement with Admiral Rodney. That defeat humbled the pride, exhausted the resources, and lowered the pretensions of France; and that alone, perhaps, was the means of rescuing us from the common fate of those nations who have been under the necessity of calling in the assistance of others more powerful than themselves. The abominable duplicity, dissimulation, and treachery of France, under the present as well as under the ancient regime, authorize any opinion of enormity which the most heated imagination can impute to them; and nothing but the demon of faction, or the imperfection, and presumption, and infatuation of human nature, could have obtained for that horde of assassins and plunderers any sort of regard or respect among us. I confess, however, that my detestation of the French has not arisen quite so much from their particular treatment of us, as from the general tenour of their conduct towards other nations, and towards the individuals of their own nation.

That which is common to all, is not exclusively criminal in any; and I feel no more for French than for British, or Dutch, or Spanish, or Algerine spoliations: but of the French I have the greatest detestation, because I have the worst opinion of their national character. The French imagine themselves to be a mild and humane people, gay in prosperity, and philosophers under affliction; that is, they have their full share of human vanity, joined, perhaps, to good animal spirits; but those who have no feeling for themselves, how can they feel for others? Besides, we have the confession of one of the most prejudiced of their countrymen, that "there is not so ferocious a nation as the French," "that the true

French national character is a mixture of the tiger and the monkey; sometimes the monkey is uppermost, and sometimes the tiger." And from the horrors of the St. Barthelemi; the repeated devastations of the Palatinate; the dreadful cruelties in the village of Boosergrove in Holland, and in the neighbourhood of Londonderry in Ireland; their sanguinary and merciless spirit in all their civil wars, down to the long list of atrocities during the present revolution: from all these we may conclude, that they have no more idea of humanity than a tiger, who spares only what he cannot overtake; and no more idea of liberty than a monkey, who sees no other use of it than to waste and to destroy. All nations indeed are not fit for the sudden possession of freedom, and all, or almost all, have, I suppose, been occasionally cruel; some from superstition, some from jealousy, some for mercantile profit, and the rest for plunder: but the French are cruel for the love of cruelty. If the confinement of individuals be just and necessary, let them be confined; if their deaths be just and necessary, let them die; but the wound which must be inflicted, let us inflict with regret, and the miserable victim whom we are obliged to execute, let us treat with gentleness. Let us endeavour to alleviate what we cannot avert; and let us give way to the angry passions, and let us restrain the offices of humanity, no farther than may be absolutely necessary. When a young officer advances to surrender, and offers up his sword, it may be necessary to refuse him quarter; but who, except Frenchmen, would think of raising his expectations of life by affected assurances of the most profound respect, and the greatest possible desire of obliging, in order to have the malicious pleasure of dashing those hopes, and of increasing the titter of the whole troop at his death, by his agonies of surprise and disappointment? Who but a French General would boast, as the Duke of Luxembourg

embourg did in 1672, that the defenceless and unresisting villages which he wrapt in flames, made *des nobles feux de joie*? Who would exult that they had these *nobles feux de joie* every day as regularly as the returns of an ague? What Legislature of the present age but that of France, would think of passing a decree, *de gaieté de cœur*, to forbid giving quarter to a vanquished enemy? Who but they would keep prisoners in a state of prolonged starvation, and make them sing merry songs upon the advantages of living *à la gamelle*? Who else would imagine the bleeding the condemned before they were led to execution, in order to deject them by the loss of animal spirits, that the dread of death may be increased and embittered, and that a relief may be given to the amusement of the spectacle? Who but they would drown children between a man and a woman, that they might give it a ludicrous appellation of a marriage? Who but they would suffer the headless bodies of the women whom they had just executed, to be shoved shoulders foremost from the scaffold into the cart, in order to afford an opportunity of joking upon the indecent appearance made by their reversed limbs, in the last convulsions? Who but Frenchmen, after violating the sisters, and daughters, and wives that were attending their wounded relations in an hospital—who but Frenchmen would think of amusing themselves with the horrid *arrachemens des poils*, until insulted, and outraged, and tortured nature begged for death as a blessing? No—French principles, and French views of aggrandizement, and French spoliations, are nothing in comparison of all this; they may be dreadful, but they are incident to humanity; they are to be guarded against or resisted: but what I complain of, what I abhor and detest in the French national character is, that mixture of levity and ferociousness, of merriment and barbarity, and that facility of committing the most enormous excesses, with

a laugh or a sneer, or a fool-born jest. I am very far from imagining that all Frenchmen are of this stamp; the little that I know of their history convinces me that they are not; and several with whom I have been personally acquainted, I have, with all my prejudices against their nation, respected, esteemed, and loved; and I have always been taught to consider the *vieux militaire François* as one of the best and most respectable characters among men; nor do I imagine it of much consequence, when our heads are off, whether the spectators laugh or cry, or whether we are shoved shoulders foremost or feet foremost into the cart; but to a woman of any decency, death itself must be less painful than that anticipation of the manner in which she knows she is to be exposed immediately afterwards; and what vestige of human kindness can remain in hearts capable of laughing and jesting at the miseries of others? The measure of injuries may be ascertained between nations as between individuals, but the measure of insults never can. You may be able to tell how many ships, and brigs, and schooners have been taken, and the value of their cargoes, and the quantum of mercantile profit, and the whole may be reimbursed; but what payment or what profit can satisfy an invasion of your sovereignty, an impeachment of your honour and honesty, and an insolent demand upon you to descend from that equal station among the nations of the earth, to which nature, and nature's God, entitle you? There is always too some excuse for an injury; it may be greatly convenient, or it may be said to be so; but an insult can never be excused, because it never can be useful. Mr. Pinckney might have been dismissed by the Directory, without their availing themselves of an obsolete idiom of their language, in order to address him by an offensive appellation, and without threatening him with their police.

French

French Generosity.—Baltimore, August 4.—*Most agreeable—if true.*—From the Norfolk Herald of July 29.—Yesterday arrived the schooner William, Captain Linnel, from Granada, which place he left the 4th of July, in company with the schooner Nancy, Palmer, of and from New-London. On the 9th instant, while in company with the above schooner, about six leagues east of St. Croix, was brought to by two French privateers, which had left Guadeloupe the day before on a cruise; they sent their boats alongside the two schooners, and carried the two captains, with their papers and letters, on board the privateers; after examining them, they told them that they had particular orders not to stop or disturb any American vessel, and were very sorry they had put them out of their course, and treated them with every civility. One of the French sailors that came on board the William had taken a small pig, and was carrying it away, but the Captain of the privateer ordered him to return it, and threatened to punish him severely if he did the like again. On searching the William they found six hundred dollars, which the mate had in his care; on which they observed that there was no need to hide it, as they should take nothing without it appeared to be English property. One of the privateers was a sloop or cutter, mounting fourteen six-pounders and 120 men; the other was a ship of twenty-two six-pounders and 191 men. They informed they were cruising for the English convoy that was to leave the West Indies by the 24th instant. While Captain Linnel was on board the cutter, she carried away her main boom, and bore away for Porto Rico*.

Bishop

* This I take to be a *lure* to inveigle the Americans from home, and to induce them to sail from the West Indies without convoy. The plundering villains had been ordered to let a vessel or two of

Bishop of New-York.—A New-York paper says, that a complete set of bells for Trinity church has been received by the Favourite, Captain Drummond, from London. The bells are eight in number, with the fixtures complete of frames, wheels, ropes, &c. The largest weighs upwards of 2400lb. being much heavier than any other in the city. Mr. Rice, formerly organist of Trinity church, and well known for his musical skill, who has interested himself in seeing them properly executed, writes that he has heard them rung, and finds the sound entirely harmonious; he adds, that the frames, being of the best English oak, will last several hundred years without the least decay*.

TUESDAY, 8th AUGUST.

French Craft.—A member of the French Divan has proposed, that the *Square of the Revolution*, at Paris,

little value escape, that the report might spread through the continent, and bring them better prey. It was, as they call it, *donner un œuf pour avoir un bœuf*, or, in the language of Christians, *throwing a sprat to catch a herring*.—Their hook is out; they are now angling in all our bays; nor have I the least doubt that the credulity of our good merchants will soon furnish them with charming sport.

The way in which this news is announced, is, among thousands of others, a mark of that tameness of spirit that has taken possession of the country. What does it amount to if true? That an American vessel has escaped being plundered on the high seas, though met by a French privateer. Most agreeable and most wonderful news indeed!—When a dozen or twenty of our vessels arrive in safety under convoy of *British ships of war*, the news is never announced as “agreeable;” but, if a rascally French privateer spares a single vessel, it is immediately trumpeted forth as tidings that ought to gladden every heart.

* As these bells are hung on the best *English oak*, it is to be hoped that the Right Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of New-York, will never give his special permission for them to be rung in celebration of the victories of the French atheists (particularly on a *Sunday*), as he did in 1794.

where

where the guillotine stood, and where upwards of a hundred heads were chopped off daily for several months, should now take the name of the *Square of Peace*; and that a monument to the armies should be erected in the middle of it, in order, said he, “*to cover the crimes of the revolution with our military glory.*”—PASTORET, the fellow who made this proposition, is a cunning scoundrel; but he and his blackguard colleagues are very much mistaken if they think to blind the present or the future generation by the erection of a monument or the nick-naming of a square. The page of their history they have for ever stained; they have steeped it in human gore, and it will stare their posterity in the face, and render the name of Frenchman synonymous with that of murderer as long as the name shall be in use among the nations.—And as to their “*military glory,*” trifling indeed must be the crimes that that would cover. Their victories have, in no one instance, been the fruit of either their *valour* or their *fortitude*, but of *terror at home and corruption abroad.*

Impartiality.—Nobody will forget the outcry raised by certain gazettes and their supporters against the British Minister, on account of Blount’s affair, which however he discouraged when it was mentioned to him, nor is there a shadow of evidence to show that he had any concern in it. Neither will it be forgotten that those are the same persons, and the same papers, whereby Genet was formerly vindicated in his open and well-proved attempts to raise an army in our territory, and the Executive loaded with abuse for having opposed him. On a recent occasion the like laudable impartiality has been manifested. From the confession of M’Lean, lately convicted of treason in Canada, it appears that he was furnished with a certificate from Mr. Adet, which he carried concealed in his shoe: but this strong appearance of con-

nexion between a French Minister here, and a citizen of this country employed in exciting insurrection among our neighbours, has escaped the animadversions, and even the observation, of those watchful guardians of our neutrality.

Coit.—It will be long recollected that Mr. Coit acted the part of a *Marplot* in the congressional farce, with which we were entertained some time ago. In consequence of his excellent performance, the French papers at Boston (the *Chronicle* in particular), larded him on his return, with a great deal of *well-deserved* praise. But it seems that Mr. Coit, instead of deriving satisfaction from this public acknowledgment of his attachment to the French, was very much offended at it, and that he actually sent the editors of the paper called the *Chronicle* the following most ludicrous card :

“ Mr. Coit presents his compliments to Messrs.
 “ Adams and Larkin, and apprehending that a cor-
 “ respondent of theirs under the signature of ‘ Mid-
 “ dlesex,’ in the *Chronicle* of the 3d inst. has much
 “ mistaken Mr. C.’s character and principles—and
 “ that any correspondent of theirs who may be dis-
 “ posed to make honourable mention of him, will
 “ be under the like mistake—takes the liberty to beg
 “ the favour of Messrs. A. and L. that they will not
 “ again publish any eulogium on him. And wish-
 “ ing to remove any mistaken impressions, which
 “ the publication alluded to may have made, Mr.
 “ C. further asks as a favour of the editors of the
 “ *Chronicle*, that they will be so obliging as to pub-
 “ lish this note *.”

Spanish

* The ridiculous embarrassment that this gentleman’s *equivocal* conduct (to give it the mildest epithet) has brought him into, ought to be a profitable lesson to all trimmers. The poor man might as well

Spanish Minister and old M^cKean.—It is said that Genet is in the city *incog.* and it is generally supposed that he has been invited hither as chamber counsellor for the Spanish Minister, in *his prosecution of P. Porcupine*, which we have the pleasure to inform our readers is in a fair way of coming to a head.

The little Don, we are informed, has, for some time past, been extremely assiduous in his addresses to Miss M^cKean, the amiable daughter of poor Pennsylvania's Chief Justice.—What were his motives in commencing this suit we shall leave our readers to divine.

A question for lawyers.—Is it possible for a man to write a libel on a monkey, though that monkey be the tool of a baboon?

WEDNESDAY, 9th AUGUST.

Civis's Remarks on Monroe's Letter to Mr. Pickering.—The angry Ex-minister to France, Monroe, has made a new discovery in our constitution; that a displaced officer is to be considered in the light of an injured party, entitled to redress.

First, How is he injured? The Executive, exercising its undoubted constitutional powers, has displaced him. Why? Because it thought him unfit for the place. Who was to judge of this? The Executive solely. And on what was its judgment to be founded? On reasons of which it ought to be the sole judge: for the constitution does not say that officers shall be removed by the Executive for such and

well have accepted of the eulogium of the sans-culottes, for he may be assured he'll never be honoured with one from a federal pen. It must not be forgotten that he was not always so *modest* as at present. While at Philadelphia he snuffed up the filthy incense of Bache and the O'Careys, without expressing the least dislike to it. The northern air has, I suppose, operated a refinement in his smelling faculties.

such

such causes, or on conviction of such and such offences; but at its pleasure. The Executive, therefore, having exercised in the case of Monroe its constitutional power and discretion, and no more, has done him no injury. As well might a man convicted by a jury of a crime, complain of injury, because, pursuing their constitutional powers of deciding upon the credibility of testimony, they had found him guilty: they answer, Because we believed the testimony. But it was not worthy of belief; Of that, they reply, we were to judge.

As well might a man who solicits an office, and is refused, complain, and demand the reason. The answer is, that he was thought an improper person; but, says he, I am not improper; you do me injustice, and I claim a discussion before the public, which will show me more favour. The Executive replies, I am to judge of your fitness, not the public, and it is enough that I do not think you fit.

Since the Executive and not the public is responsible for the conduct of officers, the constitution has wisely provided that the Executive and not the public should judge of their qualifications. It has indeed, by the power of impeachment, given the other two branches the means of removing an unworthy officer whom the President might attempt to retain in his place, but no where has it given to any man, or number of men, the means of keeping an officer in place against the will of the Executive.

If it were allowable to jest on so serious a subject, one might very aptly compare Mr. Monroe's conduct to that of a man, who, being discarded or refused by a lady, should insist on knowing her reasons. She would say, I do not like you; I do not think you a proper person to be my husband. So the Executive says to Mr. Monroe, It was my pleasure to remove you, because I did not think you a fit person to remain as Minister of France. I once did

think you fit, and appointed you, but I was deceived, and, finding my mistake, I remove you.

This man's conduct reminds one of the story told of Swift, from whom Doctor Fell insisted on knowing the reason why Swift declined his acquaintance. The Dean answered,

I do not like you, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I need not tell,
But I don't like you, Doctor Fell.

In the second place, why has not this discovery been made sooner? Other officers have been removed before Mr. Monroe, and yet nobody heard of their complaints. Whatever resentment they might have felt, and no doubt they all believed themselves as much injured as Mr. Monroe believes himself, yet they had sense and modesty enough to hold their tongues. When this man's predecessor, Mr. Morris, was removed, no reason was ever asked or assigned.

Mr. Short was removed from Madrid, but nothing has been said about reasons. Two collectors of the customs have lately been removed from very lucrative places, but no demand or account of reasons. Hitherto the principles of the constitution in this respect have been understood and submitted to; but no sooner does a removal fall upon one of that turbulent sect, whose constant maxim it is to make all law, order, and principle, bend to their own personal gratification or advantage, than an outcry is raised, and the old changes all rung about despotism and arbitrary power. Condemned criminals complain of the despotism of juries; Jacobins complain of the despotism of laws: rioters and drunken vagabonds complain of the despotism of the police; and for the same reason it is natural to hear officers, displaced for their incapacity or misconduct, complain of the despotism of Administration. It was reserved however for the vanity and turbulent indiscretion of this man to make
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the complaint in the newspapers. He has indeed one example in his favour, that of Doctor Romayne, who has lately published bitter complaints against the despotism of a Committee of the House of Representatives, which, in pursuance to its instructions and authority, sent for him and his papers to be examined as to a conspiracy wherein he evidently appeared to be an accomplice.

It is to be asked in the third place, what end Mr. Monroe proposes to himself in this business? Is it to justify his own conduct? If so, the object might have been effected without a quarrel with the Administration. He knew what his conduct had been, and might explain it; and should a recurrence to his correspondence be necessary, that, we see, is allowed to him. Was it to show that the Executive had acted improperly towards him? Still that might be done without an altercation, without demanding the reason of his recall. If he has been ill treated, it must have been by some particular act; let him explain that act. If the ill treatment consisted in his recall, let him show that there was no good reason for his recall, which may be done by stating his conduct and his correspondence. Since the Executive has thought fit to recall him, the presumption is, that they had sufficient reasons for doing so, and he must prove the contrary if he wishes to inculcate them, or vindicate himself.

Finally, is it the object of all this bustle to arraign the general system of foreign relations adopted by the Administration, and sanctioned by Congress? If so, it is a public question with which the recall of Mr. Monroe, or the reasons for it, have nothing to do. The facts are public and generally known, and the documents are in the hands of every body, except such as Mr. Monroe may suppose to exist in his unpublished correspondence, to which it appears he was most readily allowed access. He has moreover
informed

informed us, that, without hearing the reasons of his recall, he had resolved to enter into a discussion on this subject.

He has, indeed, pretended to lay great stress on the communication of those reasons; but with that inconsistency into which men of great vanity and little sense are perpetually betrayed, he tells us himself that he did not want to know them, being already well apprized what they were. If he knew them himself, why demand a disclosure from the Executive? If he thought it important for the public to know them, why does he not, possessing, as he says, that knowledge himself, explain them to the public?

His conduct is marked with the extremest folly in another particular. He was recalled by the former President, who is now out of office, and from whose successor he demands the reasons of the recall. The successor can know nothing about it personally. The Secretary of State first declining, for the most convincing reasons, to enter into any official explanations on that subject, offers however to state as a private individual the reasons which had induced him to advise the recall; his colleagues make the same offer: now it is manifest that in this case nothing more could possibly be done. The President was not bound to follow the advice of these gentlemen, nor to inform them of the grounds on which he finally made his determination. He heard their reasons, weighed them, and resolved according to the result of his own reflections. The Secretary of State could know only this result, and the reasons for that advice which he and his colleagues had given; but the grounds on which the President finally decided remained in his own breast; or, if communicated to them, were communicated merely as matters of private confidence, as they might have been to any other individuals. These gentlemen therefore have
offered

offered Mr. Monroe all the information which it is possible for them to give ; if he wants more he should go to General Washington, who alone can answer for the private reasons which guided his own determination. Yet this Mr. Monroe, after all his clamour about reasons, positively refuses to accept, and abuses them because they do not give more.

Yet if he really wished to satisfy either himself or the public about the reasons of his recall, if he really wished an opportunity of vindicating himself, or showing that the Administration had acted on improper grounds, it is manifest that this information would fully answer his purpose ; for although the reasons whereby those gentlemen supported their advice to the President, could not be stated officially and positively by them as the grounds on which he acted, no persons would doubt that they were so in fact. The public would no doubt consider them as the reasons for Mr. Monroe's recall, and he might immediately set about refuting them.

This however is most evidently foreign from his purpose. He wishes to act a part ; to make a bustle and figure on the political theatre ; to hold himself up as a martyr to popular principles, and the popular cause ; to enter into a contest with the Administration, and become the champion, perhaps the leader of a party, which he vainly and foolishly imagines himself able effectually to serve. If he sought only his own justification he would take a different course. If he wished to point out errors in policy, for public information and benefit, still his course would be different. He intends to become not the Hambden of his country, for then he would act like Hambden ; but the Wilkes of his party ; and accordingly he pursues the steps of Wilkes, without having such firm ground to tread on. His friends, however, if he has any who possess more reserve and discernment than himself, with some share of candour, will inform

form him that he falls infinitely short of Wilkes in the talents of a demagogue; and from a little reading he may learn that Wilkes, with all his talents, though he got a place, has sunk into universal contempt through his factious, turbulent, and unprincipled conduct.

CIVIS.

Genoa.—Paris, June 1. The Executive Directory received yesterday, by an extraordinary courier, dispatches from Citizen Faypoult, Minister of the Republic at Genoa, which state, that at the moment of the courier's leaving that place the city was the theatre of a sanguinary revolution. On the 21st of May, a considerable assemblage of persons, preceded by three chariots, filled with tri-coloured cockades, passed through the different streets, singing patriotic airs, and crying, "Down with the nobles—down with the privileged orders—liberty for ever!" Then they proceeded to the Salle des Spectacles. All the carriages which were in the avenues were broken in pieces, and the liveries torn. Several persons have been the victims of this terrible commotion, as the courier declares that he saw sixteen heads carried in triumph at the ends of pikes. After much deliberation, the Directory sent off a courier to General Bonaparte.

Genoa was in the greatest confusion at the departure of a courier on the 22d of May. Armed men, followed by a furious multitude, had delivered themselves up to the most horrible excesses. Four Senators had been massacred, and their houses pillaged. The Doge had fled. The refusal of the little council to establish a chamber of commerce, was the motive, or rather the vain pretext, of the insurrection, directed, according to every appearance, against the very form of the present government. The French Minister, Faypoult, had issued a proclamation, forbidding

bidding the French to take any part in the disturbances*.

Fallen Royalty.—It grieves me to see what I am now about to lay before my readers; but I preserve this dismal picture of fallen royalty, in the hope of one day or other being able to present its contrast.

France, 8th June, 1797. Extract from the Process Verbal of the Directory.

The Directory, accompanied by the Ministers and the diplomatic corps, repaired to the audience chamber.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs presented to the Directory Mr. Drayer, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Denmark to the French Republic, who spoke the following address:

Citizen President,

The earnest wish and desire which the King my master has ever expressed for the prosperity of the French nation, must be admitted as a matter of great notoriety. Facts, repeated and uninterrupted facts, have proved the high respect and friendship which his Majesty has entertained for that nation, and his sincere wish and disposition to live with it in perfect amity and good understanding. Where facts speak, professions are useless. The desire of the King to cultivate and draw closer those bonds of union, whose

* The impudence and duplicity of these French destroyers, are, if possible, superior to their love of blood and plunder! Will any man, that is one degree above an idiot, believe that they were not at the bottom of this insurrection? No! there are too many incontestable facts to prove not only this, but that it was from the first their primary object to disorganize all Europe, or, in Brissot's emphatic words, "to set fire to its four corners." The work is also begun in America, and our Government is reserved only for a very short space, to fill the last scene of this infernal French drama; and nothing can save us but the destruction of the hellish republic.

duration and solidity are founded upon the reciprocal interests of the two nations, is unalterable: the completion and accomplishment of this desire is the great object of my mission. His Majesty has charged me to give to you, Citizen Directors, the most solemn assurance of those friendly sentiments with which he is animated towards the French Republic, and I rejoice much in being appointed to announce them—my happiness will be completed, Citizens Directors, if, in fulfilling the intentions and wishes of the King, I can also obtain your confidence and esteem.

The President replied—The Directory receives with a lively satisfaction, the assurances of friendship that his Danish Majesty has manifested through the medium of you, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. The Government of the French Republic will neglect nothing to preserve that good understanding which has so long subsisted between the two nations. The loyal conduct of the King of Denmark towards the French Republic during the whole revolution, has served to strengthen and draw closer those bonds which united them. The ardent desire which the Executive Directory has to see a solid and lasting peace at length reunite all the powers of Europe, may be considered as a new pledge made to you of its disposition towards a power who has never ceased to be its friend.

The Directory doubts not but the personal qualities which have gained you the confidence of his Danish Majesty, will not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of the Government to which you are sent.

M. le Commandeur de Ruffo, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Naples, was afterwards presented to the Directory, and said,

Citizens Directors, the King my master orders me to present to you, along with my credentials, a new

guarantee of his friendship. Charged with cultivating carefully the good understanding and sincere harmony which he has contracted with the French Republic—the interpreter of his candour and of his unalterable fidelity—I come to confirm to you the satisfaction he experiences in seeing this fortunate union open for both nations the sources of happiness; an union which industry, and every reciprocal interest, conspires to extend and to cement with ardour, and which real amity is about to consolidate for ever.

With real pleasure, the King my master has observed, that the peace and good understanding which are re-established between the two powers, tend to efface the remembrance of the evils which they had reciprocally inflicted on themselves by the war, and to make those events be forgotten; which at the epoch of its declaration have perhaps been viewed as contrary to the regard which his Sicilian Majesty has always entertained for France.

The confidence with which the King has honoured me, and my earnestness to merit yours, shall be the sole and only object of my cares, my actions, and my wishes.

The President replied thus :

Monsieur Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Naples, the Executive Directory sees with satisfaction, in you, the statesman chosen by his Sicilian Majesty to represent him in his relations with the French Republic. Far from us be the recollection of any circumstances which might tend to diminish the harmony and sincere friendship we are desirous of perpetuating between the two nations. His Sicilian Majesty shall be convinced, that the French Republic is as faithful a friend, as it is a redoubtable enemy.

As to you, Minister Plenipotentiary, the sentiments which you have manifested towards the Republic
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secure to you the esteem of its Government, as they are to us a sure guarantee of the fidelity of your principles.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs next presented Citizen Michalli, Minister from the Republic of Geneva to the French Republic, who expressed himself in the following terms :

Citizens Directors, the Assembly of the sovereign people of Geneva having chosen me to be their Ambassador to the French Republic, I experience a lively feeling of the honour which my fellow-citizens have conferred upon me by this mark of their confidence, and I am at the same time penetrated by the fullest sense of the importance of the new functions to which I am called. To procure to my country the friendship and the support of France, is to consolidate the basis of its independence, its prosperity, and its happiness. The French people will not withdraw the generous protection with which they have for many years honoured the Republic of Geneva, if the most constant attachment on the part of their ancient ally can suffice to secure its continuance.

The French people will recollect, that in the period of adversity, when all Europe seemed to have vowed their destruction, Geneva, the small, the feeble state of Geneva, never ceased to remain faithful. They will recollect, that, in giving proofs of its devotion, Geneva did not wait until the victorious armies of the Republic had surmounted the Alps or the Pyrennees, or passed the Po or the Rhine—Geneva testified its attachment to France long before her armies had arrived, by new routes, to the gates of Rome or Vienna, and when the standards suspended from these walls did not yet attest the innumerable triumphs of the Republic.

In admiring with all Europe the valour of your troops and the talents of your Generals, the vast

designs and the astonishing resources of your Government, Geneva feels with enthusiasm, the joy which France experienced in seeing this terrible war so gloriously terminated.

There is still another kind of glory, Citizen Directors, which you have not disdained to obtain.—The sentiments which your energy has excited against powerful enemies, have inspired, by a contrary effect, dispositions of good will towards a friendly people, who look to you as their chief support.—How happy shall I be if I can transmit to my fellow-citizens new pledges of the affection and esteem upon which they set so great a value, and if you receive favourably the testimonies of their gratitude, and the ardent wishes they this day offer, through me, for the success of your labours, and the prosperity of the French Republic!

The President replied,

Citizen Minister of the Republic of Geneva, the French Republic, a stranger to calculations of every interest which is not that of all mankind, measures the friendship it vows to its allies, only by the sincerity of their affection. Geneva has connected her cause with that of the French Republic: the Executive Directory will never separate them.

The Assembly of the sovereign people of Geneva will learn then, through you, Citizen Minister, the disposition of the Directory to maintain carefully all the relations which should unite the two republics. The pledge of this disposition is to be found in the principles by which they are animated. These standards, which have attracted your observation, are placed here, less as trophies of victory than to demonstrate, at the moment of peace, the moderation by which the French Republic is proud to be directed.

May the Republic of Geneva, Citizen Minister, secure of its independence from without, consolidate daily,

daily, by its attachment to the constitution it has formed, the basis of its liberty and its happiness! You, Citizen Michalli, in your character of a republican, ought to find in every Frenchman a brother.

The same Minister also presented M. Caborus, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Spain to the congress which is to be held in execution of the preliminary articles of peace agreed to between the French Republic and the Emperor.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs introduced to the Directory Citizen Verninac, Envoy Extraordinary of the Ottoman Porte, on which occasion he spoke to the following effect;

Citizens Directors,

On my return from Constantinople in consequence of your arret of the 19th Pluviose, which terminating my mission at the Ottoman Porte, complied with my request to visit France, I deliver to you a diploma from Sultan Selim III. acknowledging the letters which informed him of my recall. I likewise present a dispatch from Hussein Pacha, Admiral of the empire, accompanying an Ottoman flag, which I undertook to lay before you as a pledge of his sincere affection and alliance. From the transmission of these Turkish colours, the first present of the kind that showed the disposition of the Turks, and from the sentiments contained in the letters which I bring, you will be convinced, Citizens Directors, that the people on the shores of the Bosphorus can appreciate the value of the friendship of the Republic, and that her glory is not unknown to them. You are aware perhaps of their intention to form a still closer connexion with you, and to pay homage to the splendour of the nation by the permanent embassy which the Sublime Porte has resolved to establish in France, and which is on the eve of beginning in the person

of Ally Effendi, who has already reached the territories of the Republic.

Sent as I was, Citizens Directors, under the most discouraging circumstances, among a people separated from us by a great extent of sea, and still more so by their manners, character, language, customs, and government; charged with political affairs of the greatest importance, the protector of many and valuable establishments; I have often felt in the course of my embassy the difficulty of the duty I had to fulfil; and, considering the glory and the power of the nation whose organ I was, I must acknowledge my inability to represent it fully and adequately. Your instructions and those of your predecessors in the Government, supported me in that arduous duty. I ascribe the success that has attended my mission to the wisdom of those instructions, and to the citizens in official situations in the loyal Ottoman Court; whose efforts in concert with mine, and whose wise and dignified conduct, contributed very essentially to render the French name and the Republic respected by that nation.

If the love of my country (the sentiment which occupies the first place among the passions that influence my conduct) become more fervent in my bosom at the view of places pregnant with prodigies, and particularly on the aspect of the arid and contracted territory of Greece, which was elevated by this *amor patriæ* to rank far superior to all the nations of the earth; if, I say, this sentiment were sufficient to raise me to the height of your expectation, I shall not deem myself unworthy of your confidence. But, however unproductive this principle is in me, I shall console myself with the reflection that such citizens as you have deigned to confide in me, and that my good intentions will secure to me your indulgence.

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The President's reply and the Pacha's letter alluded to above, have not yet come to hand *.

Brown.—Brown's paper of last evening contains the following very extraordinary paragraph to *correspondents*.

“ *Original* communications from Civis upon any subject will be carefully attended to; if, with the *extensive circulation of our paper*, we cannot command a preference in some instances, we conceive ourselves justifiable in reserving at least the right of *selection*. We have already refused to publish a number of political speculations from a certain sink of scurrility and misrepresentation; and we shall in future pay no attention to requests of this nature. When the literary world shall become so polluted as to blast every germ of truth and virtue, we shall then ransack the volumes of Billingsgate for amusement and instruction; but Civis may rest assured that the *source to which he has referred us* will be our *last resort*.”

The source to which brother Brown was referred, must, I presume, have been Mr. Fenno's paper; because the communication of Civis which he was called upon to republish, and which will be found in my paper of this day, had not yesterday appeared in any other paper than Fenno's. As, however, it is impossible that the communication alluded to might be cut out of the paper, and that Brown might think it was from mine, it is also possible, and indeed very probable, that his charitable insinuations might be levelled at Porcupine's Gazette. I shall give him to-morrow to say plainly to whom these insinuations were intended to do honour: if

* Thus these fellows are drawing the bands closer with all the kings and despots they can come at. I wish to heaven they would draw them so tight as to choke both parties.

to Mr. Fenno, I shall leave him to make his acknowledgments ; if to me, I trust I shall not be wanting either in politeness or gratitude. Silence on the part of Brown will be looked upon as a declaration that my paper was the object of his favour.

Orleans, alias Egalités, at Philadelphia.—The following extracts are taken from the History of the Conspiracy of Philip Duke of Orleans : “ A little while after the massacre of the 2d and 3d of September, 1792, Orleans mounted the tribune of the Jacobin Club, wearing the bloody cap of liberty instead of his ducal coronet. There he made a solemn declaration that he was not the son of the late Duke of Orleans ; that his grandfather never would acknowledge him as a Bourbon ; that his mother always scorned the conjugal ties, and that he was the fruit of an adulterous intercourse between this modern Messalina and one of the Duke’s *valets d’écurie*, or *stablemen*.”

Thus did this abandoned wretch become the herald of his own debasement and his mother’s prostitution. Demagogues in all countries and in all ages have been base and shameless miscreants ; self-degradation has always been the road to favour with the mob ; but it was reserved for the “ *enlightened* eighteenth century,” and the infernal French revolution, to produce even a mob so completely debased, as induces a man, in order to preserve his favour with them, to proclaim himself a bastard and his mother a whore.

Circumstances like this, of which thousands could be produced, characterize the French revolution, and distinguish its spirit and tendency from those of all other revolutions that have taken place in the world. The French revolution has been compared to that of America ; but, was there ever a time when an American leader, to gain or preserve

serve popularity, would have boasted of his own bastardy or his mother's whoredom? No: the body of the people here were at times seized with a sort of frenzy, but never with the spirit of jacobinism; that spirit which pulls down all that is great and good, and exalts all that is vile and infamous; that spirit which has fixed everlasting disgrace on France, which has been the scourge of Europe, and will be the scourge of America.

"The wretch had before committed this shameful declaration to paper, which he had sent to the *Commune* of Paris, requesting at the same time that they would give him a new name that might serve as a proof that not a drop of the blood of the Bourbons flowed in his veins.

"It was in consequence of this application that the *Commune* gave him the burlesque name of *Egalité* which he gave to his children, and of which his eldest son, the Duke of Chartres, boasted of among the soldiers; but, after he emigrated with Dumourier, being asked by the Austrian officers how he could be so base of soul as to truck the name of his princely ancestors for the fans-culotte appellation of *Egalité*? he answered, *I only did it to wheedle the silly Parisians*. He was egregiously mistaken. The Parisians were never deceived in the Duke of Chartres: they will never consent to see their city disgraced by his return to it. They justly think that the wretch who can disown his name and family, ought in his turn to be disowned by his countrymen."

This man has taken up his residence among us. Whether we shall condescend to own what the vile Parisians think would disgrace them, or whether any *American Lady* will think the blood of her family improved by a mixture with that of a *stable-man*, are points that I leave others to determine*.

* The miscreant was, at the time this was written, paying his addresses to a young lady of Philadelphia,

THURSDAY, 10th AUGUST.

Fox.—The following article from a London paper of the 6th of June, furnishes us with a remarkable instance of disinterestedness in a *patriot*.

“Yesterday Mr. Fox attended at St. James’s to present three or four petitions from the county of Antrim in Ireland, and some other places, for the dismission of his Majesty’s Minister. After the levee Mr. Fox requested a closet audience with the King, as a member of his Majesty’s Privy Council. The result of this remarkable interview was to this effect:—Mr. Fox began with a most respectful apology to his Majesty for intruding upon his privacy, but pleaded the extreme danger of the present situation of the country as his motives and apology. He proceeded to say that these were not times when personal prejudices or personal ambition should operate in any man’s mind to supersede the discharge of a just and necessary duty to his country; and that he was convinced that the servants of the Crown who had led the country into the present state of difficulty and alarm, were not competent to conduct it into a situation of prosperity, or even of safety. He implored his Majesty, therefore, to take *other men* into his councils. But that his Majesty might not suspect that he was influenced by *motives of personal consideration* in the advice he was giving, he was perfectly willing to wave any supposed pretensions applying to himself, and to be an unconcerned spectator, or even a supporter of a new Administration, provided he saw them acting faithfully and honestly for the genuine and ultimate interests of the country. His Majesty listened with *great attention* to Mr. Fox; but, according to the etiquette usually observed on such occasions, *returned no answer to his representations*. We cannot dismiss this article without giving our tribute of approbation to

to the *disinterested* conduct of Mr. Fox in this respectful and well-timed appeal to the judgment and *parental feelings* of his sovereign *."

FRIDAY, 11th AUGUST.

Priestley's tender Feelings.—The Doctor's feelings are very unaccountable, being totally disproportionate, and sometimes quite of a contrary nature to their causes. He tells us how the *sudden union* of Mr. Burke and Lord North filled him *with horror*. (Lett. to Mr. Burke, p. 6†.) If an unlooked-for coalition in the Ministry goes to court to manage public business, he is troubled with *the horrors*; but he can hear of captive kings, of plots, massacres, confiscations, and sacrilege, and find all these things not only agreeable, but consistent with celebrity and festivity. He mocks at the humanity of Mr. Burke for being *alarmed* and *disturbed* at the late horrible commotions in France. This worthy gentleman, blessed with the tender feelings of a polished mind, and concerned for the peace of the Christian world, did look with abhorrence on the confusion, inhumanity, and felony of the French revolution; and therefore justly and pathetically exclaimed against it as a most wicked and cruel transaction. At all this Dr. Priestley wonders; and says, You are *alarmed*;—you are not *cool*;—your mind is *heated*, &c. &c. The contrast here is a little striking; the one, with the heart of a man and a Christian, feels as the at-

* There's for you! Who will now say that a battered rake and an eleemosynary patriot cannot be a man of pure and disinterested motives? When the King consented to give audience to Fox, he should have armed himself with *the sword of Justice*.

† He forgot that his *friend* and *advocate* Fox, who had pledged himself to *impeach* Lord North, was one of this coalition.

tendant Chaplain would at a miserable execution ; while the other stands by with all the indifference of the hangman ; considering only what he and his party may get by it, and how the catastrophe may serve to promote his own political ideas.

The power of kings and rulers is designed by Providence as a *terror to evil doers* ; so the Gospel teaches : and a terror it is, which seems to lie very hard upon Dr. Priestley ; but if the law of Providence be inverted, and the terror happen to fall backwards upon kings and rulers themselves, then he has his wish. He rejoices when they are *made to tremble*, as if it were a delicious circumstance. “ It is time,” says he, “ that they who have made others tremble (i. e. who have been a *terror to evil doers*) should in turn tremble themselves. But let the *people rejoice*.” (Lett. to Mr. Burke, p. 40.) The two great *red-letter* festivals of Dr. Priestley’s year (kalendared with *blood*) are the 30th of January and the 14th of July. “ Let all tyrants read the history of both,” says he, “ and *tremble*.” We shall rarely meet with any instance of a flaming advocate for liberty who does not, through all the disguise of his fair words, discover the spirit of a tyrant. If I had no other reason for detesting our Doctor’s politics, this alone would be sufficient, that they deliver us over to an unmerciful mind, and even invert the passions natural to man : so that when the world is in tears we are preparing for a feast ; like vultures when they smell slaughter at a distance : and in the sunshine of peaceable times, like Spenser’s fiend that chews a toad, *we weep, that cause of weeping there is none*.

When a man denies his own conduct to those who are witnesses of it, and expects to be believed, whatever that man may call himself, we generally agree to call him *impudent*. Has not our Doctor for many years past been libelling the religion and

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the clergy of the church of England; predicting ruin to the government, and recommending a new one after the model of France; calling our religious establishment a *fungus*, a *sloth*, a *glutton*; and threatening it with destructive explosion from the gunpowder which he and his friends have been conveying under the fabric? Yet the man who had said all these things, and many more (for which see the collection in the Appendix), tells the inhabitants of Birmingham, they *had uniform experience* of his *peaceable behaviour* for eleven years. (See Thoughts on the late Riots at Birmingham, p. 7.)

His Letter to Mr. Pitt displays a degree of assurance rarely to be met with. When a man in this country writes a saucy letter to a Minister of State, there is nothing prodigious in the case: but if he does this in defiance of all decency, and puts his name to it, as Dr. Priestley did, he glories in his shame; which a man seldom does till he is past the feeling of it. Tell him his creed gives him a near alliance to the Turks; he is not abashed at it, but considers it rather as a favourable circumstance; telling us how the Turks are in a fair way to become Christians because they are Unitarians. "You are mistaken," says he, in his letter to Mr. Parkhurst, "if you think that I am ashamed to own my agreement with the Mahometans, or any other of the human race, in the doctrine of the divine unity, and to worship *together with them* the one God and Father of all, the Maker of heaven and earth." (Letters, p. 185.) Whether it be the Reverend Mr. Parkhurst then, or any other worthy gentleman who shall suspect that the Doctor is weak enough to be ashamed, he has reason, from the Doctor's own authority, to retract his suspicions.

SATURDAY, 12th AUGUST.

Monroe's Conduct at Paris.—From the New-York Gazette.—MR. PRINTER, All *good patriots* should felicitate Citizen Monroe on his safe arrival in America, after escaping the dangers to which he was exposed in France, from having been an advocate for the system of *terror*, and an admirer of its fiend-like agents. Every person who is at all acquainted with the sentiments of the people of France respecting the bloody reign of Robespierre, must know that they think their national character tarnished by the unheard-of cruelties, butcheries, and robberies, which marked that detestable epoch of their revolution. It is well known that, though Robespierre had fallen, still Robespierrianism was in the zenith of its power—that all France was weltering in the blood of her most virtuous citizens; that women, children, and old men, were the indiscriminate victims of the cannibals tyrannizing at that time over their devoted country; when Citizen Monroe made his respectful appearance before the monsters, whom he addressed in language of the most fulsome adulation: and as a further proof of his affectionate admiration of their conduct, his abject, sanguinary disposition led him officiously to make use of his *virtuous fellow-patriot* Barney to unite the flags of America and France, at a time when it was the evident interest and wish of the people and government of this country to preserve the strictest neutrality. It is certain that the notoriety of such a criminal act, and the public rejoicings of many of our *patriots* on the successes of France, conspired to cause many more condemnations of American vessels on the part of the British, than would otherwise have taken place. The treaty was the consequence of such spoliations, which treaty is also the *ostensible* cause of French depredations. So that Citizen Monroe may be considered as the principal

principal instrument of all the losses and injuries which have befallen this insulted country, as well on the part of the British, as the French*. I ask Citizen Monroe whether he has felt that honest, patriotic indignation against his countrymen, who are privateering out of France, as to have caused him to denounce them to the Executive of the United States, as degrading our national character by such abominable conduct? No; I believe Citizen Monroe would rather give them an invitation to dine with him, as a tacit approval of their conduct, and that our Executive is indebted to our worthy, honest, and virtuous fellow-citizen Mr. Pinckney, for the names of several who were engaged in this vile business. It is a well-known fact that Mr. Monroe was on terms of the strictest intimacy with many noted privateersmen; and may, perhaps, like our infamous C——l at Bourdeaux, have advised some of those *worthies* to fit out vessels as privateers†. Mr. Monroe's house in Paris was the rendezvous for almost the whole piratical gang, and the bitter enemies of the administration of our Government, French as well as Americans, where they indulged in the most virulent invectives against some of the most virtuous men among us, which often took place before many members of the French Government; one of whom, Mr. Charles Delacroix, on the 4th July, 1794, had the effrontery, even before Messrs. Monroe and S—h, to give as a toast, “The virtuous Minority in Congress, who rejected the British treaty;” and on

* Nay, Mr. HONESTUS, this is not quite so; for though Monroe's uniting the flag of America to that of France, was not *ordered* by his Government, the act was certainly *sanctioned* by that Government, in its public and pompous reception of a *French* flag, as a return for the compliment.

† In the summer of '96 Mr. Fenwick advised an American gentleman from Philadelphia to fit out a schooner as a privateer from France.

the same day, before the above-mentioned gentlemen, the French Directory, and many other Jacobin members of the French Government, our late worthy President was designedly left out among the set toasts; upon seeing which, an American gentleman present begged leave of Mr. S—h, who presided, to be permitted to give a volunteer toast, which was “George Washington, President of the United States;” upon which, a hissing began among some patriotic Americans concerned in privateering against their defenceless countrymen! Why did Mr. Monroe lower the dignity of a great and free people, by permitting a paper approving of his conduct in France (drawn up first by Tom Paine, but afterwards altered), to be carried through the streets of Paris last winter, to get signed by Americans, many of whom had the weakness and wickedness to do it? but as many as were not runaway debtors, nor pirates, absolutely refused signing it. Mr. Monroe, I am of opinion, will find a great many names among the signers, who have been denounced by his more virtuous successor, Mr. Pinckney, as a disgrace to the American character.

After all this, Mr. Monroe has lately had the effrontery to demand the reasons of his recall. Such persons as are not disposed to condemn him on the foregoing charges, I will refer to Barras’s answer to him on presenting his letters of recall, to see whether Barras does not think Mr. Monroe more attached to the interests of France than those of America; when he tells him, “he is sorry that he is going away; he parts with their regret; his recall offers a strange spectacle to Europe; he alone knew the true interests of his country.” How different this from the treatment of Mr. Pinckney, who was insulted, abused, watched as a conspirator! What does all this imply, but that Mr. Monroe did not make the proper representations to *prevent*, but tacitly or secretly *justified* the

the depredations committed on our commerce by our dearly beloved allies ? which they knew Mr. Pinckney would remonstrate against ; to prevent which they turned him out of the Republic, while the Directory could not part with *their man Monroe*, without the greatest regret, and giving vent to their chagrin, by vilifying our Government for recalling him.

HONESTUS.

To Mr. Andrew Brown, Publisher of the Philadelphia Gazette.

SIR,

When a child has soiled its garments, or spilled its mess, the good mother, previous to chastisement, never fails to exclaim, "There now ! see what you have done !" In observance of this ancient and excellent custom, it is that I now call on you to contemplate your last Tuesday's mischief.

" *Original communications from Civis, upon any*
 " subject, will be carefully attended to. If, with
 " the *extensive circulation of our paper*, we cannot
 " command a preference in some instances, we con-
 " ceive ourselves justifiable in reserving at least the
 " right of *selection*. We have already refused to
 " publish a number of political speculations from a
 " *certain sink of scurrility and misrepresentation*, and
 " we shall in future pay no attention to requests of
 " this nature. When the literary world shall become
 " so polluted as to blast every germ of *truth and vir-*
 " *tue*, we shall then ransack the volumes of Billings-
 " gate for amusement and instruction ; but Civis
 " may rest assured, that the source to which he has
 " referred us will be our last resort."

There now ! see what you have done ! It is not worth my while to stop to prove that *Civis* did not refer you to my Gazette. That the insinuations contained in the paragraph were intended for me, is

certain, from your having asked a person, how he liked your "*first broadside* at Peter Porcupine," and therefore without further ceremony, I shall proceed to address to you such remarks on this your "*first broadside*," as to me seem just and proper.

To turn critic on the labours of your pen, is what I shall never think of, while I can find more interesting matter wrapped round Daffy's elixir and Anderson's pills; but I cannot help observing that your paragraph, which it appears was your *coup d'essai*, combines all the requisites in a production of its kind. It abounds in puff, in cant, and nonsense; but above all, it possesses, in an eminent degree, that most necessary of all qualities, ambiguity. A newsmonger's paragraphs should always be like the signs of the free-masons: none but a brother should be able to comprehend their meaning; and, if your progress in the occult science be equal to your beginning, I do not hesitate to pronounce, that, at no very distant period, you will be the grand-master of the hackneyed, trimming, time-serving fraternity.

After having said this much by way of preface, I come to the subject-matter of your paragraph. You refuse to publish the communication of *Civis* upon two grounds; 1st, Because the *extensive circulation* of your paper giving you a right *to command a preference*, you, at least, insist on that of *selection*, or, more correctly speaking, *rejection*; 2d, Because you are requested to copy from my paper, which you are pleased to call a "certain sink of scurrility and misrepresentation," and which you are resolved not to have recourse to for instruction or amusement, *till the literary world shall become so polluted as to blast every germ of truth and virtue*. This is precious nonsense, to be sure; but such as it is, we must take it, and make the best of it.

Boasting of the *extensive circulation of your paper* is no more than a puff; no more than the exercise of
a right

a right which has descended to you from your *modest* progenitor ; but to insist that the circumstance of your paper having an extensive circulation ; to insist that this circumstance alone authorizes you to *demand a preference* ; to reject whatever is not sent to your paper first, or whatever does not exactly square with your opinions, is a trait of presumption, of rudeness, and of insolence, that I should hardly have expected, even from a beggar on horseback. Many strange scenes strike the eye in this topsy-turvy age ; but I do not recollect having beheld one so completely unnatural, so offensive to reason and decency, as you sitting in judgment over the writings of *Civis*. Marat condemning his Sovereign to death, has, it is true, something more shocking in it ; but the difference between this infamous wretch and the descendant of Henry IV. was not half so great as the difference between your understanding and that of *Civis*. Not six months ago, when your *talents* were put out to hire by the week, and consequently employed to the best advantage, they were found to consist, not in criticising on the matter for a Gazette, or even in ranging the bits of lead, but in a *judicious* and *learned* application of the lamp-black and oil. In short, a very few months have seen you transformed from a printer's devil to a critic, a judge in literature, morals, and politics ; and all this in virtue of what ?—*The extensive circulation of your paper !*

Which paper has most subscribers, or which has least, is what certainly ought never to become a subject of public dispute between the proprietors ; but as a superiority of numbers is the basis of your exorbitant pretensions, your impudence in boasting of that superiority deserves to be exposed.

When the Philadelphia Gazette fell into your hands, it had upwards of *nineteen hundred* subscribers ; this nineteen is now reduced to about *fifteen hundred*. Porcupine's Gazette, though you style it a

sink of scurrility and misrepresentation, has at this time between *five and twenty* and *six and twenty hundred*: so that until you, or some of your sans culotte friends can introduce and establish a retrograde arithmetic, by which *fifteen* will become greater than *five and twenty*, you will have the complaisance, good Mr. Devil, to lay aside your pretensions to "*command a preference*" in virtue of "*the extensive circulation of your paper.*"

We now come to your second objection to publishing the communication of *Civis*: viz. because you were (as you thought) referred to my Gazette, from which it would be a dishonour for you to copy.

This naturally leads me to inquire into the origin and progress of our two papers. The puffs and tricks that were played off to impose the paper, which is now yours, on the public, are fresh in the memory of almost every inhabitant of the city; and it at last got into circulation by mere accident, by the means of a dreadful public calamity. It owed its success to what has filled the city with orphans and widows. The desperate circumstances of the proprietor made him look upon bread as more valuable than life; he therefore remained and fattened upon the contagion. His *virtue*, whatever you may have to boast of, was no more than that of a vulture. Did my paper owe its establishment to any such causes? Did any one ever see me, or any one for me, begging subscriptions from door to door? No; so far from such mean mendicant manœuvres, I never asked, even in my own shop, for a subscription to my paper: as to *profiting from the misfortunes of others*, so resolved was I to avoid an imputation of this kind, that when the awful event took place, which called you from the hell of ink to the throne of criticism, I absolutely refused (though importuned to do it) to avail myself of the advantage which it offered, by anticipating the time which I had fixed on for commencing. I left this opportunity

opportunity to be embraced by your *generous* friends and countrymen, the O'Careys.

Both our papers were established by men formerly in the British service; but one quitted that service by desertion, and the other with an honourable discharge. This very wide difference at once accounts for the difference in the politics of our papers, as far as relates to our native country and its Government. Every thing rancorous and false was to be expected from a man who had discharged in the face of his comrades the ammunition he had received to fire at the enemy; while from one who had never injured his country, who was left to the guidance of nature and gratitude, an attachment to it, joy at its prosperity, and sorrow at its misfortunes, were as naturally to be looked for. And, whatever may be your opinion, and however loudly certain runaways may *boast of their treachery*, be assured that every man whose esteem is worth having, will bestow it on him whose conduct bears the marks of fidelity.

With respect to the manner in which your paper has been conducted as affecting the politics of this country, it exhibits as perfect a picture of a *trimmer* as ever presented itself to the eye. It crawled into notice as the champion of the *Federal Government*, and accordingly took the title of "THE FEDERAL GAZETTE;" but the moment that Government began to be attacked by the French faction, and that faction became numerous, it threw off this title for the equivocal one it at present bears; and this material change had no better apology than that the federal Government *no longer stood in need of its support!*

Neither this reproach, nor that merited by the millions of injurious falsehoods it gave circulation to during the years 1793, 4, 5, and 6, would apply to you, had you not trod in the path of your predecessor; but this you have constantly done: there is not

a trick, an instance of underhand partiality for which he was so famous, that you have not imitated as far as the change in the public opinion would permit you to go. Openly to throw off the mask, and espouse the cause that you or your prompters have at heart, you dare not. Detection has pursued the whole clan of time-serving editors: you have reluctantly retreated to your den of *sham impartiality*, from whence, like the peep-o'-day boys in Ireland, you now and then fall on your unsuspecting prey.

One thing before I dismiss you I beg you to remember, and that is, that an affected look, a silk-coat, and a powdered head, do not make a *gentleman*; and that he whose dress and manners proclaim the variation in his circumstances, is fit for nothing but a sycophant or a serving-man.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

MONDAY, 14th AUGUST.

Venice.—In every country where the Carmagnoles have carried their arms, they seem to have studied how they could most insult and dishonour human nature. After a whole people has been plundered and degraded from their former rank among the nations, and their government has been annihilated root and branch, their atrocious enemy has forced the miserable victims to declare, that the revolution was their own act, or done with their concurrence. After nobility has been sunk to a level with the vilest canaille, and the wealthy have been plundered of their last dollar, they have not been permitted even to suffer in silence, but have been obliged to disown their wrongs, and to publish some falsehood in praise of their destroyers.

Of this species of debasement and imposture there has been a signal instance in the late dissolution of
the

the republic of Venice. Two Venetian traitors, *Nichola Cornela* and *Salvator Marconi*, the one a French-made President, and the other a Secretary of the same stamp, have had the impudence to publish a manifesto, that evidently was dictated if not written by Bonaparte or one of his Secretaries; in which they declare that the motive of their enemy in *disorganizing, robbing, and partitioning* their country was not for the sake of conquest or plunder, but merely “*to increase the power and prosperity of the Venetian people.*” Was there ever a greater insult to common sense? Would any man write in this manner, who had not been previously jacobinized out of every particle of love of country? No;—it is the style of a traitor, who was paid for what he published, and who would publish any thing he was commanded.

But these prostitute Venetians have gone still farther to insult their degraded country, and the common sense of mankind. It is well known that the Venetian nobility were the proudest of all people of their titles and privileges; but these impostors have told the world, “That it was the *sincere and last wish* of the Patricians of Venice to make a *voluntary* offer of all their ancient titles on the *altar of liberty*, in order to enjoy the blessings of a representative government, and to assume the more sacred name of *citizens.*” Of citizen!—of a name which the French have rendered synonymous with robber and assassin, and which ought to be expunged from the vocabularies of all civilized nations. Will any man believe that the descendants of those heroes who had been the scourge of Turkey and the bulwark of Europe for two centuries, who had opposed the united force of Austria, the Pope, and France, in arms, would be willing to exchange their ancient honours, grown venerable by the hoar of time, for a term the most expressive of infamy, that modern language contains!

No !—Hard necessity might oblige them to submit to be stripped of their power, and pillaged of their money and jewels ; but nothing I am sure, no, not even Robespierre and the guillotine, would ever force the Patricians of Venice to assume the disgraceful appellation. Yet these Frenchmen have come forward with this barefaced forgery, and attempt to palm it on the world as an act of the Grand Council and nobility of Venice. Not content with plunging them from the pinnacle of opulence and grandeur into an abyss of wretchedness, by this instrument they have made them proclaim their own humiliation, and, still worse, to aggravate it with the guilt of a lie.

Destruction of the Irish Press called the Northern Star.—The following account of the destruction of this infamous press is taken from a Belfast paper brought by the last arrival at New-York.

“ *Belfast, 22d May, 1797.*

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.

“ Without making any apology for the present appearance of our paper, we state impartially to our numerous readers the particulars of the most daring and flagrant outrage, burglary, and felony, that has been committed here within the memory of the oldest citizens.

“ On Thursday evening last, an advertisement was given in for publication to one of our boys, by some sergeants of the Monaghan militia, who defired the expenses to be charged to Colonel Leslie.

“ On examination it was found to contain in words printed in small capitals, *a gross calumny and libel on the town of Belfast*—a place, we are proud to say, the most orderly and peaceable of any other of its dimensions in the kingdom, which our magistrates can amply testify, and where the laws
“ have

“ have hitherto been executed with ease and safety
“ by the civil powers.

“ One of the sergeants was waited on, and told
“ that the advertisement would be willingly inserted,
“ if the objectionable words could be left out. The
“ sergeant replied, that he could not say whether
“ they would or would not be taken out, but sup-
“ posed they would not.

“ There the matter rested till the evening of Fri-
“ day, when the Star was published without the ad-
“ vertisement, upon which a party of the sergeants
“ and corporals came to the office, and, with dread-
“ ful imprecations, threatened every person belong-
“ ing to the place, and swore they would pull down
“ or burn the office, if their advertisement should
“ not be in the next publication; in consequence of
“ which, on Sunday, about 12 o'clock, it was
“ thought necessary to apply to the civil power, and
“ accordingly a magistrate was waited on, who ad-
“ vised application to the sovereign; he was imme-
“ diately sought for, but could not be found: in
“ the interim, a party of the above militia, mostly
“ recruits, lately arrived at the regiment, headed by
“ some sergeants, in all about fifty, rushed into the
“ office, and being armed with hatchets, bars of
“ iron, bludgeons, swords, bayonets, &c. they pro-
“ ceeded to destroy every thing that lay in their
“ way; they demolished the windows, scattered
“ about stamped paper, and threw it into the streets,
“ cut down the counters, broke open the desks, took
“ and destroyed about 100*l.* of cash, in gold and
“ bank notes, cut up and tore the books of the ac-
“ counts, beat and abused the men and boys in the
“ office, before Colonel Leslie, who had been ap-
“ plied to, could stop them!!!—Where were the
“ laws and the magistrates? We could get the aid
“ of none of them!”

Remarks.

Remarks.—Thus, at Belfast, as at Birmingham and at Paris, has the holy right of insurrection recoiled on its inventors and supporters. What can be more ridiculous than to hear the editor of that abominable paper, whose sole occupation for years has been to vilify his Sovereign, and all those who act in authority under him; who has exhausted every resource of art and impudence to stir up the ignorant to mob and to rebel: what can be more ridiculous than to hear this atrocious villain, when his principles begin to operate against himself, crying, “*God save the King,*” and *calling on the magistrates for protection?*

“Where,” exclaims the baffled insurgent, “where were the laws and the magistrates? *We* could get the aid of none of them!”—No: you have long traduced, blasphemed, and endeavoured to destroy, those laws and those magistrates. You scorned and set them at defiance; and now they laugh at you when your fear cometh. “He who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword;” and it is full as just, that he who lives by insurrection should perish by insurrection.

How often has this *evil Star*, which, in place of light, dropped darkness and pestilence; how often has it told the mob, that they are the sovereign, that all power belongs to them, that the soil, and the houses, and the trees, and the plants, and the herbage are theirs, and that they have a right to set up and pull down at their pleasure? And does the demagogue editor now, because it has pleased the many-headed sovereign to pull him down; does he now dare to question this right? Has he now the impudence to tease him with his *whys* and his *wherefores*; and, above all, can he be so completely devoid of spirit and of shame, as to appeal from the decision of this *mild* and “*only legitimate sovereign*”
to

to the laws and magistrates of "tyranny and usurpation?"

Let not the advocates of sedition pretend that, because the destroying mob was composed of *soldiers*, it was not to be looked upon as a portion of the sovereign people. Such a plea is inadmissible from the editor of the *Northern Star*, who has a thousand times called upon the soldiery to forget their engagements to the King; to recollect they were still Irishmen, the *friends* and the *brothers* of those who were united in the blessed work of *reform*: that their *rights* were the same, and that those "*rights were not to be alienated by an oath*, imposed on them by kidnappers and trading justices." How, then, does he now find the impudence to make a distinction between the military and the rest of the people?

I hate, most sincerely I hate a mob, whatever be its object: its shout is as disagreeable to my ears, as the howl of famished wolves to those of the benighted traveller: but, if mobs must be, and they must commit violence, it is certainly to be wished that that violence may ever, as in the present instance, fall on the head of those, whose turbulent and disorganizing publications give rise to such disgraceful assemblages*.

Remarkable

* Such were my reflections at the time when the complaint of the editor of the *Northern Star* first reached America. I admitted the correctness of his statement, because I was in possession of no facts to invalidate it, and attributed the destruction of his press solely to the natural operation of those principles and precepts which it has promulgated. But, since that time, a faithful relation of the whole affair has fallen into my hands, which very interesting relation I shall now give, in the words of that spirited writer, *Doctor Duigenan*. See *Answer to Grattan*, page 91.

"Another of your grievances, is, *the suppression of a free press, by military force*. Here you practise your usual malice and deceit: you do not expressly allege, that such suppression of a free press, by military force, was by order of the Government; yet
"you

Remarkable Prophecy, by Noah Webster, jun. Esq.—
All the measures taken in Italy to check the progress
of

“ you evidently insinuate it, and wish it should be so understood ;
“ for you intert it in the list of grievances, which you impute to
“ Government; thus indirectly charging Government with in-
“ vading the liberty of the press. The transaction to which you
“ allude is, the destruction of a press and types of a printing-
“ house in Belfast, in which was printed the *Northern Star*, the
“ most flagitious paper that ever was published in any *civilized*
“ *and Christian country*, to use your own words, or in any country
“ whatsoever, where any form of regular government was pre-
“ served: the circumstances I shall briefly detail.

“ It was discovered, that several private men in the militia re-
“ giment of the county of Monaghan, quartered in Belfast, a town
“ notorious for disaffection and sedition, had been induced to be-
“ come members of the infamous society of United Irishmen, and
“ had taken the oath administered to all the members of that de-
“ testable gang of traitors ; many of them were immediately ar-
“ rested and tried by courts-martial, four of them were condemn-
“ ed to be shot, and others of them to various species of military
“ punishment. The four wretches condemned to death, when
“ kneeling on their coffins, prepared for the fatal bullets, declar-
“ ed in the most solemn manner, that they had been seduced from
“ their allegiance, and into the measures that had brought them to
“ their then deplorable situation, principally by reading the trea-
“ sonable publications in the *Northern Star* ; and earnestly exhort-
“ ed their fellow-soldiers never to read that flagitious paper. This
“ pathetic dying exhortation, and the view of the bleeding car-
“ cases of these unhappy victims to treason, made such an impres-
“ sion on the private soldiers of the regiment, that, upon their re-
“ turn to their quarters, they unanimously adopted a declaration
“ of their sincere repentance, and their determinations of loyalty
“ for the future, in which they, with great justice, ascribed the
“ seduction of their unfortunate comrades, and many of them-
“ selves, to the wicked and treasonable artifices of the inhabitants
“ of Belfast.

“ This declaration one of the sergeants and a few of the privates
“ carried to the two newspapers printed in that town. By one of
“ the papers (the Belfast News-Letter) it was published : by the
“ other (the *Northern Star*) it was rejected with expressions of
“ contempt and insult, though the poor men offered to pay for the
“ insertion of it, at any rate of advertising that the printer should
“ demand. This conduct in the printer of the paper, to which
“ the regiment so justly attributed the misfortune of their compa-
“ nions, so incensed the private soldiers, that some of them on
“ the

of *jacobinism*, or rather of *republicanism*, will have but a temporary effect. The principles which the French armies have spread in Italy, aided by 30,000 French troops, which are to remain there, will, in a few years, revolutionize all that country. *The Pope will lose his mitre, and the King of Naples his throne.*
 AMEN *.

New-York, August 12,
 Anno Domini 1797.

TUESDAY, 15th AUGUST.

To Philip Fatio, Esq.

DEAREST DON,

Want of time rather than want of inclination has caused a chasm in our correspondence. I felt so much pleasure from the dear little billet-doux that I received

“ the following night stole from their quarters, broke into the printing-house, and demolished the press and types.

“ Now, Sir,” adds the author, “ have you any proof whatever, or any reason for forming even a probable conjecture, that the above violence was commanded, or even countenanced in any manner by the Government? If so, what are your proofs and reasons?—This pretended grievance, like the others, is the creature of your own malice, &c. &c. &c.”

So much for the *Northern Star*. That infamous paper is now no more; but I thought it right to insert thus much respecting it, that I might at a future day have the pleasure to reflect, that I was amongst those who sincerely and heartily execrated one of the most nefarious publications that the world ever saw.

* That the predictions of this malignant, bitter, black-hearted Presbyterian may prove false every good man must wish. What interest can this miscreant have in the fall of the Pope and of the King of Naples? The wretch pretends to detest the French, and to desire them and their principles to be kept far from America; why then does the contemptible, the vapid soothsayer, send them to devastate other countries?—N.B. It will not be amiss to remember,

received from you, that I at once formed the grateful resolution of plying you with letters as long as it should please God to keep you above ground; but the best of resolutions are liable to be broken, and I am sure my dear Fatio will excuse the breaking of mine, because his own heart must tell him, that it could not be owing to want of respect or affection.

I have, my dear fellow, just received dispatches from Quebec, containing part of the trial of poor *M^r Lean*, whom the cruel Canadians have put to death. They put a rope round his pretty neck, it seems, on the 26th of July, and so he died; but previous to this ceremony he was, as I was saying, tried by what we call a judge and jury, and from this trial I send you the following extract, as I am certain it must give both you and Don Yrujo a great deal of pleasure.

“ *John Black, Esq.*—Was at home when Frichette came to his house, and offered some oak timber for sale; but after a little time desired to speak with him in private. When alone, Frichette, after some introductory conversation, asked him if he was the Mr. Black who had been imprisoned by Government in 1794. The witness said he was. Can you be depended upon? said Frichette, significantly. The witness answered in the affirmative; upon which Frichette told him that he was sent by a French General, then in the woods near Wolf’s Cove, to say that he wished to see him, and that he would conduct the witness to him; the witness thought he ought to go to discover who this French General was, and what were his plans, and accordingly
“ consented;

ber, that *Noah* looks upon the cause of the French to be that of *republicanism*. What an infernal thing must republicanism then be!

“ consented ; he was conducted by Frichette to the
 “ wood near Wolf’s Cove, where he found the pri-
 “ soner. He apologized for the liberty he had taken
 “ in sending for him, and after observing that the
 “ witness had probably learnt something of his
 “ views from Frichette, told him, ‘ *that he was sorry*
 “ *to see a great people groaning under the tyranny of*
 “ *England,*’ and added, ‘ *My object is to put out the*
 “ *British Government from the continent of America.*’
 “ The witness asked, By what means ? Upon which
 “ the prisoner entered fully into a plan of exciting the
 “ Canadians to take arms against the Government :
 “ he proposed first to engage a few men of influ-
 “ ence, and by their means to provide others, that
 “ these should be joined by many others, *already en-*
 “ *gaged in the United States of America,* who would
 “ enter the province previous to a certain day to be
 “ appointed, under various pretences. A part of the
 “ arms to be pikes headed with iron, of eight feet in
 “ length. He thought, he said, that the garrison of
 “ Quebec might be surprised, and that measures
 “ might be adopted for *distributing liquors mixt with*
 “ *laudanum, to the troops ;* he said he wished not to
 “ take a life, if possible to avoid it ; ‘ But at the same
 “ time,’ said he, ‘ for the sake of posterity, *all who*
 “ *resist must fall.*’ The prisoner then told him, that
 “ he left *Mr. Adet* on the seventh of April, and that
 “ he was going to France immediately, to procure
 “ the number of French troops necessary to co-ope-
 “ rate in the intended revolution—‘ *The Spanish Mi-*
 “ *nister at Philadelphia is also concerned with us,*’ said
 “ the prisoner, ‘ but Adet is the man of business ; *the*
 “ *Spaniard is a fop.*”

Now, my dear friend, I shall leave you and “ the
 “ Knight of the *distinguished order*” to chew this over.
 It must be as sweet to you as blossomed clover
 to a half-starved cow. “ *Laudanum to the troops !*

All who "resist must fall!" Well enough Don Carlos might turn up his nose at *British humanity*.

I pray God to preserve you till I get the remainder of the trial, and am,

Your most obedient servant,

P. PORCUPINE.

THE END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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